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THE WOODSTOCK (OXFORDSHIRE) TOWN ARCHIVES

By R. B. Ramsbotham

My friend, Dr. S. N Sen, Director and Keeper of the National Archives of India, has informed me that a brief account of the archives of a small English town would be of interest to members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Woodstock is one of the smallest towns in England, with a population of less than 2000. It is 8 miles north of Oxford, on the main road from the north. But, though small, it has long been prominent in English history. King Alfred translated "the consolations" of Boëthius in Woodstock. In Plantagenet days it was the site of a favourite royal hunting box, and the Black Prince was born there. Naturally there grew up round the Court a small body of traders and Court employees who made use of their situation to obtain from King Henry VI, a charter of self-government, under a mayor, aldermen, and common councillors. This charter, dated 29 Henry VI (1451) has been lost, but it is among the Charters enumerated in the Charter-roll at the Public Record Office, London, and its existence is referred to in subsequent charters (several of which are "inspeximus" charters) granted to the town.

These charters and papers, like those in many an English country town and family, have received little care or attention; the fact that so much has survived can only be ascribed to freedom from foreign invasion, and the almost immortal qualities of vellum and parchment, which resist heat and cold, damp and dryness, and even mice and insects in a way that no other material, that I know of, does.

After the close of the last war, when we had at last a little leisure for other things than self-protection, and such war service as the aged could render, I obtained permission from the Council to make a close examination of these records, and the process has taken me nearly three years. A preliminary examination revealed that the documents had been examined by some trained student of historical documents at some earlier date, and some of the more valuable had been set aside, but some had actually been pasted in a book too small to hold them: certain others had escaped observation including the original demand for the second writ of shipmoney, 1635, which was the leading factor in the causes that led to the Civil War. The documents were in no sort of order:

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title deeds, wills, final concordats, sales purchases all heaped together. In this confused mass was the actual list of payments made by the Woodstock inhabitants in 1635 to the demand for shipmoney: the Borough was extremely loyal; the money was collected in a month, and the name of each contributor is marked off as payment was received. Another important paper that I found was a letter from King James II with his own signature to the Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, Lord Lichfield, authorising him to raise the horse and foot militia for the defence of the realm; this was in 1688.

Much of the material is difficult to read for those who have no knowledge of 15th and 16th century English: the earlier documents, with few exceptions, are in Latin. Certain documents are written in the 17th century Chancery script which was so devised as to be unintelligible to the layman; it required the services of a Chancery clerk to decipher it.

Papers belonging to one set of transactions had been opened and scattered about with the papers of others; but enough material remains to give an interesting and detailed history of a small English Borough for the last 500 years, both political and economic.

The Woodstock Town Archives and documents may be classified in the following groups:

I. The Charters: nine in all from various Sovereigns.

The Constitution, oath of the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Councillors.

Oath of the Freemen*, etc.

(These oaths were taken to preserve the liberties and privileges of the Council).

II. Proceedings of the Council.

The Acts of the Council, 1671-1699.

The Proceedings of the Port moot Court: these are hardly distinguishable from the Acts of the Council. The Port moot was the Council sitting as a Commercial Court, 1588-1635.

Also a bound volume, recording purchases of land within the Borough from 1461.

The Chamberlain's accounts—an abstract 1570-1840. This abstract is contained in one large sheepskin-covered paper book and was in constant use for over 250 years.

*When the Rt. Hon'ble Winston Spencer Churchill received the Freedom of Woodstock (his native town) in 1946, he took the freeman's oath in the words drawn up in 1570, and recorded in the Town's Constitution.

III. Miscellaneous documents and papers.

- (a) The most notable of these is the Assize of Victuals, 1604, which was reproduced in the Journal of the Historical Society for 1898: it is the most complete list of prices for all kinds of victuals of that day known in England. It is written on paper and wrapped in a beautifully illuminated sheet torn from a Pontifical of about 1175—1225 A.D. A lamentable reminder of the senseless destruction wrought by the so-called Reformation.
- (b) The 2nd writ of shipmoney (already mentioned).
- (c) Certain Commissions of the Peace signed by Queen Elizabeth and King James I.
- (d) A large parchment Chancery document, dated in the year 1655. Oliver, Lord Protector of England, etc. This is of no particular value except for its massive and beautiful seal.
- (e) Dy. Lieutenants' (of the County) Commissions, some left blank, signed by Lord Lichfield, Lord Lieutenant in 1688.
- (f) The inventory of the personal effects and property left at his death by Sir Thomas Spencer, High Steward of Woodstock. This is an interesting record of the household and other possessions of a leading gentleman of the County in 1622.

IV. Lists of rentals—very incomplete—commencing in 1461 and going down to the 19th century.

V. A large number of Corporation Leases of houses and lands.

VI. Many unsorted indentures and agreements belonging to various bundles of title-deeds to property, which have been hopelessly confused and mixed.

Many concordats and wills and some marriage settlements, inventories of possessions, including a very complete list of the property, clothes, household goods etc. of a prosperous yeoman about 1730, and the amount spent on mourning at his death.

VII. Indentures of apprentices.

Settlement of the Poor. (This ugly side of English rural and urban life is very prominent in 18th century Borough Records: by the Act of Charles II, each parish was responsible for its own poor, and destitute poor were remorselessly hounded back to the parish in which they were born, so as not to be chargeable to the parish in which they were living). Many bundles of papers dealing with these settlements are preserved in the Woodstock Archive.

VIII. Bundles of certificates of taking the Sacrament.

The Corporation and Test Acts of Charles II compelled every member of a Borough Corporation to take the sacrament according to Church of England.

These Acts prostituted Religion to Politics—"which made the symbols of Atoning Grace the key to Office, picklock to a Place;" so wrote the poet Cowper, in his burning denunciation of the evil.

IX. Presentments of the Grand Jury

Court Leet Summonses.

Views of Frankpledge.

Bundles of accounts, and many miscellaneous papers.

X. This last group is an interesting example of what may be found in the records of small towns. A mass of papers, some extremely valuable, were evidently deposited in the Town Hall for safe keeping by the Town Clerk, one Mr. George Ryves, about 1695; he was also a solicitor of some eminence locally, and was clerk to the Lieutenantry of Oxfordshire. The Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire at the time of Mr. Ryves' clerkship was the great Duke of Marlborough. Among the papers are several original letters to the Duke from the Privy Council, especially in 1708 or 1709, when a French invasion was expected to assert the claims of the old Pretender against Queen Anne: also a list of every Roman Catholic, male and female in the County of Oxfordshire at this time.

Mr. G. Ryves was succeeded in his practice by his son, Edward Ryves, and his grandson Edward Ryves, junr. They adopted his method of using the Town Hall archive room as the depository for their private papers. Edward Ryves junr. appears to have died about 1765 and left no heir or successor to the practice and the papers were left among the town's papers and were probably never examined until I went through them in the course of the last year: they are very numerous, dealing entirely with the period 1698-1760, and containing many family papers which yield considerable information about the life of the average countryman of that time in all grades of life.

I should have mentioned that Woodstock for nearly two centuries returned two members to Parliament and there are a certain amount of directions from the Sheriff of the County at the time of elections to Parliament. and a number of bills for parliamentary expenses sent in after the election to the successful candidate.

These records, it is hoped, will soon be catalogued, and some of the more important calendared. They are now housed in an excellent muniment room which was made from a disused lock-up, close to the Town Clerk's Office. This old cell affords absolute security; it has been made damp-proof and ventilated according to the modern methods in use for ventilating muniment rooms. Electric light has been installed; the papers are all collected in strong cardboard boxes awaiting cataloguing and the contents of each box is recorded on a paper inside the box and an abstract of the contents of each box is entered in

a book The boxes measure approximately 15" x 10" and are stacked on a steel book-case; there are about 80 of these boxes.

The Charters and documents which cannot be placed in a box are stored in a fine old 18th century wooden chest.

In addition to the above, the town preserves a beautiful silver-gilt mace with the Crown and C.R. on it dating from about 1665, and seals dating from 1634 but probably earlier.

The earliest document in the town's possession is a parchment, dated 1 Edward IV (1461) recording the purchase of a piece of land in Woodstock by one Thomas Pargiter of Chipping-Norton; a family of that name still lives near by, and one of its members is a bank official in Barclay's Branch at Woodstock.

I hope that enough has been said to enlist the interest of members of the Commission in the documents and records to be found in any town with historical associations: families, especially those of landowners, contain similar collections. These collections, or portions of them, too often come to the auction room and are sold to foreign buyers. This is a national loss, and also a loss to scholars in general, because collections of great value become dispersed irretrievably, resulting in a serious loss to knowledge. England has suffered terribly in this way. I respectfully submit to the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission that they should recommend to the Government of India some measure by which the Government can retain for itself the right of pre-emption of any national paper or collection of papers; and in any case, whether it exercises this right or not, that no historical papers should be allowed to leave the country until a satisfactory photostatic reproduction of them has been deposited with the Director of National Archives.

REPORT ON THE RECORDS OF THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, DELHI

By T. G. P. Spear

Some years ago an attempt was made to emphasize the importance and value of local records for national as well as for local history¹. The following paper is a report on some records preserved in the Chief Commissioner's Office at Delhi, which I was able to examine by the kind permission of the then Chief Commissioner.

These papers are all post-Mutiny ones, because the records before that time were destroyed during the Mutiny months. The surviving papers of the Delhi Residency Records are now to be found in the Record Office at Lahore while the Mutineers' papers were transferred to the then Imperial Record Department in 1899². Some of these papers were kept in files, but most of them are in bundles, and require very careful handling. Some of the bundles examined (particularly bundle no. 185) were in urgent need of repair. Local records are possessions of both national and local importance, and it may be hoped that the local authorities will increasingly follow the notable example set by the National Archives department under its present distinguished Director in the loving care and preservation of records of all kinds. Here also is an opportunity for the rapidly expanding University of Delhi. With co-operation between the local authorities and University scholars a mine of unexploited historical material might be opened, to the mutual benefit of the city and the country, and of learning and administration.

Eight files of papers were examined in what may be called a trial sinking. But there is a far greater volume of material in the office from 1858 onwards. This material needs first, proper care for its storage and preservation; next it requires examination and sorting; it should thirdly be catalogued and finally a selection under various heads might be made. There is some, though not much, political material, and there is a good deal of material concerning the state of Delhi City and its development during the later part of the 19th century. There is likely, it may be suggested, to be found amongst these

Before joining Cambridge University, Dr. T. G. P. Spear was the Head of the Department of History, University of Delhi. During World War II he was for some time Deputy Director of Counter-Propaganda Directorate, Department of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India and later Deputy Secretary to that Department. He is the author of a number of papers based on unpublished records and of a book entitled *the Nabobs*, published in 1932. As Corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, he has long been associated with the Commission.

¹ Local Records—A Delhi experience and suggestion by T. G. P. Spear. Paper read before the 16th session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Calcutta, Dec. 1939.

² A *Press List of the Mutiny Papers 1857* was published by the Imperial Record Department in 1921.

papers much information of interest to the economic and social historian, both with regard to the city and to the surrounding district. The phase of local history from 1858 to 1911, when Delhi was attached to the Punjab, is a distinct and well rounded one and could well be studied as a unit. During this period Delhi was neither the seat of the mediatized Moghul dynasty or the imperial capital. But if shorn of some former glory it was in fact laying the foundations of its future greatness both as a modern communications centre and thus a suitable site for a capital city, and as a commercial centre. The Delhi of 1900 was a much bigger and more prosperous place than the Delhi of 1850 in spite of its Mutiny experience. What it had lost in glamour, it had more than made up in wealth and activity. Some of this development is to be attributed to the active government railway policy. But more perhaps was due to the rapid development of the Punjab, which converted Delhi in the economic sense from being an economic centre of mainly local importance and from the all-India point of view an economic frontier city into an important distributing link between the already prosperous United Provinces and the quickly growing Punjab. Administrative eclipse masked economic development. In 1847 the population of Delhi and its suburbs was thought to be about 163,000¹; in 1868 it stood at 154,000² (thus still showing the effects of the Mutiny); but in 1881 the first full census returned 173,000 inhabitants and in 1901 the figure was 206,000. The material for studying the nature and steps of this development in the administrative, social and economic fields exists in the Chief Commissioner's Office and awaits a band of patient investigators to probe its secrets.

In the remainder of this paper the files actually examined are described and some examples of their contents are provided.

File no. 163 deals with the City Walls. It is mainly concerned with details of repairs and contains little of special interest.

File no. 167 concerns improvements and extensions to the western suburbs of Delhi in the years 1872—76 and is of great interest. In addition it contains interesting information about the Roshanara and Qudsia gardens. In 1872, we learn, the Roshanara garden was "in rack and ruin" and the Qudsia Begh urgently needed maintenance staff. In September 1872 the establishment of these two was increased from Rs. 2000 to Rs. 2500 per annum and a correspondence follows showing the efforts of the local authorities to improve matters. Col. Cracroft, the Commissioner, championed the needs of Delhi to the Punjab Government, but a few months later (11 Mar. 1873) the Deputy Commissioner was protesting against the dropping from the local budget of Rs. 6000 for improvements and the reduction of the maintenance grant from Rs. 4500 to Rs. 2500. An attempt was then made to interest the Municipal Committee which by Resolution III of 1 July 1873 gave an additional grant of

¹ Selections from Correspondence, North Western Province 18 I.13. Report of A. A. Roberts 17 July 1947.

² Delhi Settlement Report 1882.

Rs. 2500 for the improvement of the Roshanara. The improvements to both gardens were approved by the Conservator of Forests, Punjab (10 September 1873) and in 1874 the Roshanara Garden was handed over to the Municipal Committee. The corner had been turned, and though the management was said to be "haphazard" until Mr. Locke's appointment in 1905, the Roshanara was henceforth a garden and not a wilderness.

File no. 168 deals with the Delhi Institute. The early papers of the Delhi College have been preserved in the National Archives.

File no. 177 deals with historical monuments and consists chiefly of notes on their preservation.

File no. 182 concerns the demolition of houses between the Delhi Fort and the Jama Masjid and is of great interest. The two subjects which this file covers are the extent of the demolitions to be undertaken and the compensation to be given to property-owners. The extent of demolition was first fixed at a distance of 400 yds. from the Fort walls (Jan. 1860), but in August of the same year was extended to 448 yards. The military (30 July 1860, Commissioner to Secretary, Punjab Govt.) wanted to include one side of the *Dariba* in the clearance and to demolish one side of Begam Samru's garden (her palace was occupied before the Mutiny by the Delhi Bank and later by Lloyd's Bank) and also the wall round the Roman Catholic Church (Executive Engineer to the Commissioner 2 July 1860). The Panchayats of the city petitioned in favour of the *Dariba*. The Deputy Commissioner (Egerton) supported them, pointing out that many loyal Hindus lived there including the banker Salar Salig Ram, and emphasising its historical associations. These efforts were rewarded by the veto of the Lieut.-Governor, and it is pleasant to think that Egerton thus earned the perpetuation of his name in the *Nai Sarak*. In this way Delhi obtained the great open space which adds such dignity to the old city.

The demolitions within the Fort enclosure can be traced in the same file. A letter from Major R. C. Lawrence to the Secretary, Punjab Government (13 Jan. 1860) transmits the Governor-General's orders which were based on proposals explained to him by Captain Hutchinson. They throw an interesting light on the vexed question of official vandalism. The northern portion of the enclosure was to be used for troops, the southern for officers' bungalows. "But instructions should be given to preserve isolated buildings of architectural or historical interest and in this matter it will obviously be best for the Departmental officers to err on the safe side, referring for the orders of his Honour the Lieut.-Governor whenever there is the slightest ground for hesitation". The *Diwan-i-Amm* was to be used as a hospital, but "to be injured as little as possible". The *Diwan-i-Khas* was to be restored with marble trellis work (as before the Mutiny).

The buildings overlooking the Jumna south of the *Diwan-i-Khas*, being "of little architectural interest", were to be used for the troops but the *Khas mahal* itself was to be isolated from these buildings. This is the explanation of the present lay-out of the preserved buildings. Opinions may well differ as to whether the *Musamman Burj*, the *Tasbih Khana*, *Khawábghāh* and *Baitak*, the *Rang Mahāl* and the *Mumtaz Mahāl* were "of little architectural interest" but at least the matter was considered carefully in the highest quarters.

The question of compensation for demolished property took years to settle, and much information is obtainable from this file. Briefly, it was proposed to compensate loyal property-owners from confiscated property elsewhere; for this purpose the condemned property was valued, and its owners were furnished with tickets representing its value which could be exchanged at par at auctions of confiscated property. The total value of the cleared property was calculated at Rs. 9,44,079 while the total value of confiscated property in all parts of the city was reckoned at Rs. 15,97,590 (17 March 1860 and 10 March 1860). A letter from the Punjab Government explains the procedure and the difficulties involved (no. 1650 from Punjab Government 23 September 1863):—

"It appears that early in 1860, orders were given to clear away the buildings for a distance of 400 yards round the outer wall of the palace which Government had resolved to fortify. Government also decided that the owners of all unconfiscated houses within that space should receive compensation, not in money, but in confiscated lands and houses, and that in giving them such lands and houses they should be credited with the value of the property destroyed.

"The mode in which the local officers proceeded to carry out these orders was the following: All the houses within the circle to be cleared were valued by a Native Surveyor, an appeal lying, from his valuation, to the Deputy Commissioner who settled such appeals on the spot. A Register was made of all the demolished houses and their value, and a ticket was given to each house-owner, whose house had not been declared confiscated. A sufficient number of confiscated houses in other parts of the city to cover the value of the demolished houses represented by tickets were to be put up to auction and ticket holders were to be allowed to pay in their tickets at par in payment wholly or in part for houses they might purchase at the auction. No sooner were the tickets issued than they began to change hands by endorsement without stamps; they were at first sold at 75 per cent discount. In July 1860, a meeting of some of the influential native gentlemen of Delhi who were ticket holders was convened. The persons present were 48 in number and represented only a small minority of the ticket holders. Particular attention is invited to that portion of the Offg. Deputy Commissioner's report which relates to this Meeting, for it was out of what was done at this meeting that all the subsequent disputes have arisen.

"The estimated value of the houses demolished as represented by tickets was Rupees 6,10,399. At this meeting it was resolved, and agreed by the Deputy Commissioner, that out of the whole confiscated property in Delhi valued at about 18 lakhs the ticket holders should select property valued at Rupees 6,92,585 (being Rupees 82,186 in excess of the value of the houses destroyed) that Government should sell this property by auction receiving tickets in payment, *that the ticket holders should bear the loss or share the profit on the sale of this property*, those ticket holders who choose to purchase being guaranteed against loss under 50 per cent, but those who did not purchase were to run all risks.

"This arrangement was proclaimed through the city on 16th July 1860 and lists of the property selected for sale were distributed. Naturally enough, the great body of the ticket holders protested against the arrangement and demanded to know the *minimum* value at which their tickets would be received. Thereupon a second proclamation was issued explaining that tickets would be received at par, that if profit resulted it would be reasonably divided, if loss, the loss would be borne by those who did not purchase.

"In the following month, August 1860, orders were given to extend the demolitions to 448 yards beyond the outer wall of the fort. Tickets were issued to the owners of the houses included in the second demolitions on the same principle as before, but no lists were issued of the property to be sold to cover these new demolitions. All ticket holders both 1st and 2nd were included in one general compensation list. The total estimate and value of the property represented by all the tickets has now risen to Rupees 8,77,000. The sale of confiscated property commenced in October 1860 and closed in October 1861. At first a very large profit was realised, but afterwards this fell off and some of the property sold at a loss"

File no. 184 is in three parts and concerns the Moghul family. Part I deals with Bahadur Shah's journey down country from Delhi. He left Delhi on October 7, 1858, in the charge of Lieut. Ommanney. The party consisted of Bahadur Shah himself, Zinat Mahal Begam, Mirza Jiwan Bakht, Nawab Shah Zamani Begam, wife of Mirza Jeswan Bakht with her sister and mother, Taj Mahal Begam, another wife of the *ex-king*, Mirza Shah Abbas another son and his mother Mubarak Nissa, "a harem woman", four other harem women, five male and 11 female attendants. On October 9 Ommanney thus described his arrangements to Commissioner Saunders, enclosing a plan of his daily camp.

"My dear Saunders,

I was unable to make up the annexed list of prisoners yesterday, but have now done so having got my camp in working order.

Everything correct and the *ex-king* stands the travelling very well.

The camping ground cannot be marked out till daybreak consequently although in pursuance to orders issued by me, 30 coolies are stationed at each

encamping ground to help my four chaprassies sent on ahead to pitch the prisoners' tents, it is impossible to have them ready pitched by the time of my arrival on the ground; however I have not long to wait and the prisoners are kept perfectly separate from everybody till their tents are pitched and I never leave them till they are comfortably settled in their respective tents guarded by European Sentries. Eight chaprassies *cannot* pitch the tents in time, 20 chaprassies at least are required, but I can manage by having 30 coolies to assist and practice will make them perfect.

Yesterday morning at starting the Pole of the Bullock Palkee Gharee broke in two; it is repaired.

I allow the *ex*-king to travel in his palkee as he cannot sleep in the Gharee and this arrangement is as safe as the other and does not cause any *delay* on the march; I also allow Jumma Bukt's wife to travel in other palkee as being in an interesting condition the jolting of the gharee and a restive bullock at starting or any other accident which might happen, causes and would cause her pain.

I always get up at 1½ A.M., begin to place the prisoners in their respective conveyances and then have them drawn up ready on the road, so that the column may not be delayed. I send you a sort of plan of the enactment, and also of the line of march.

My carriage is all complete, the two pairs of spare bullocks made their appearance and I have 20 camels. I send one set of tents at 5 P. M. every afternoon; I think I have told you everything connected with the prisoners.

It is rather hard for me getting up at 1½ A. M. packing up the prisoners, the march and then settling them again. I never get into my tent till about 9 A. M. when I have breakfast, but I don't care a straw for any amount of work and am very jolly.

I am Honorary Member of the Lancer Mess, breakfast, dinner and tiffin, good stage at dinner twice a week, a pack of Hounds accompany the column on the march, and we have a run when we succeed in getting a jackal, there is a Book Club and in short it is as comfortably and perfectly managed as any.

E. S. Ommanney, Lieut."

Parts II and III of file 184 deal with the pensions of the *ex*-Royal family. There are a number of lists of pensioners, with many curious details. We learn that a direct descendant of Shah Alam, having been transported to Moulmein as a convicted rebel, had there received a pension of Rs. 50 per month, while his unconvicted father at Agra was only receiving Rs. 5 a month. He had married a Burman and had four children. The post-mutiny pensions were distributed largely on the advice of Mirza Ilahi Baksh and followed the rates of Bahadur Shah. One grandson of Bahadur Shah was a *mandari* or puppet showman. The pensioners were divided into classes and there is much detailed information for those who may wish to delve further.

File no. 185 deals mainly with *Salatin* convicted and transported. It also gives particulars about Mirza Ilahi Baksh, who had recommended Bahadur Shah to surrender and who was recognised as head of the family.

File no. 196 concerns the fate of mosques occupied after the taking of the city. The Jama Masjid was handed over to a Muslim Committee in 1862. The Fatehpuri Masjid had been occupied by troops in 1857, but the platform and the mosque itself were soon released. The court and shops were sold but in 1876 they were restored to the Muslim community, handsome compensation being paid to the son of the buyer. There is some interesting correspondence about the sale of confiscated lands to provide the compensation. No ceremony was held, but a letter from the Deputy Commissioner Symth to the Commissioner dated 21 March 1877 (no. 105) deals with arrangements for the transfer. Finally, a letter from the Deputy Commissioner to Sir Lepel Griffin deals with the Zinat-ul-Masajid in Darya Ganj, which was not, however, completely restored until Lord Curzon declared it a Protected Monument.

Enough has been said, it is hoped, both to indicate the nature of these records, and to encourage further examination. The records examined are only a fraction of those in existence, and will, it is believed, repay further and detailed scrutiny.

APPLICATION DU MICROFILM AUX ARCHIVES D'ETAT

By Robert Marichal

L'application des procédés de reproduction par microfilms aux Archives d'Etat date, pratiquement, en France, de 1944. Bien avant cette date, depuis 1930 environ, la D.A.F. suivait avec attention les progrès de la technique dans ce domaine, mais les nombreux microfilms exécutés dans les Archives publiques étaient l'oeuvre de particuliers utilisant des appareils portatifs. Ce n'est qu'en 1944 que la D.A. F. elle-même a fait procéder au microfilmage de séries entières de documents et de plus précieux de ses inventaires.

Aujourd'hui existe aux Archives nationales un laboratoire, propriété d'une société privée aux Archives par un contrat, et qui travaille aussi bien pour la clientèle privée que pour les Archives. Le laboratoire est équipé avec un appareil Debie.

Le microfilm de 0,035 m. ayant été, jusqu'ici, le seul employé pour les Archives, c'est de lui seul qu'il sera question ici ; nous indiquerons plus loin ce qu'on pourrait attendre de l'emploi du film de 0,016 m.

L'application du microfilm aux Archives soulève les problèmes techniques les plus variés et les plus difficiles. Elle offre à l'ingéniosité des constructeurs un champ d'expériences unique. On peut affirmer que les appareils qui donneront entière satisfaction aux archivistes répondront à tous les besoins qui peuvent se présenter: ils seront, absolument, les meilleurs. L'extension de l'emploi du microfilm aux Archives sera donc un élément de progrès dont le bénéfice s'étendra à toute la production, aussi peut-on regretter que la modicité des crédits dont elles disposent ne leur permette pas de stimuler le zèle des constructeurs et de faire exécuter des prototypes répondant à toutes leurs exigences ; l'amélioration de la qualité des appareils compenserait largement l'argent ainsi dépensé.

A la prise de vue deux catégories de difficultés se présentent ;

D'abord l'extrême variabilité de la dimension des documents qui vont souvent de 0,10m./0,05m. à 1m/5m. ou même 30 m. de long. Le coefficient de réduction nécessaire dépasse donc souvent le rapport 25. On sait que le rendement optimum est actuellement obtenu avec le rapport 12 ; en fait, on peut aller sans inconvénient, avec les émulsions et les appareils existants, jusqu'au rapport 20. Au delà il faut diviser le document en plusieurs parties ; avant de prendre chacune d'entre elles, il convient alors de photographier une première fois le document en son entier pour obtenir une image d'ensemble, de marquer, sur une seconde photographie, également intégrale, au moyen de ficelles et de lettres, les divisions opérées pour constituer un " tableau d'assemblage ".

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Ces opérations sont simples, mais elles prennent du temps et augmentent le prix de revient ; ce qui l'accroît plus encore, c'est que, dans une même série, le plus souvent, la taille des documents successifs varie sans cesse: il faut donc, pour chacun d'entre eux, changer de rapport et de mise au point. Pour cette raison, il est essentiel de mettre un décimètre près de chaque document afin que le lecteur puisse toujours estimer immédiatement l'échelle de réduction ou d'agrandissement.

Les difficultés que cause l'état du document sont plus grandes: les supports de l'écriture : parchemins brunis, papiers anciens jaunis, " pelures " modernes grisâtres, voire même papyrus couleur de feuille morte, offrent une gamme très étendue de teintes sur lesquelles l'encre décolorée, les lettrines coloriées, les " carbonés " effacés se détachent de façon très variable. De plus les documents ne sont pas toujours homogènes, non seulement ils sont souvent tachés, mais encore beaucoup sont accompagnés de sceaux de cire presque noire ou de bulles de plomb, d'argent ou d'or.

Chaque document appelle donc un traitement particulier : il a fallu, par exemple, pour photographier des tablettes de cire du XIII^e siècle, les saupoudrer de farine et l'effacer ensuite légèrement pour que les creux que forme l'écriture apparaissent en blanc sur le fond noir. Il faut utiliser des éclairages d'intensités et de directions variées, des écrans colorés, des rayons ultra-violet ou infra-rouges, des émulsions spéciales; actuellement la pellicule panchrome s'impose presque toujours mais elle ne donne pas toujours satisfaction, il faudra créer d'autres variétés. Les appareils automatiques à grand rendement donnent de bons résultats dans les cas moyens, mais il faudra leur donner plus de souplesse, pouvoir faire varier le temps de pause, etc.

Pour les Archives départementales les besoins du service ne justifient pas, en général, des appareils aussi coûteux ; les appareils plus légers offrent, parfois, plus de possibilités, ils exigent des opérateurs plus avertis, ils sont moins sûrs, ils ont un champ plus restreint.

Aucun des problèmes posés n'est d'ailleurs techniquement insoluble à l'heure actuelle, mais les modifications à apporter aux appareils augmenteraient considérablement leur prix de revient ; c'est là que l'ingéniosité des inventeurs doit s'exercer.

Actuellement, donc, la prise de microfilms très utilisables de documents d'archives est réalisable dans 75 ou 80 % des cas, mais on est loin encore de la perfection, et, en tout cas, l'opération reste plus onéreuse que pour les imprimés ou les documents commerciaux bien dactylographiés.

Du côté des appareils de lecture, la principale difficulté résulte du fait que la plupart d'entre eux sont munis d'écrans fixes permettant de reproduire, dans ses dimensions réelles, une feuille de format commercial réduite 12 fois. Les dimensions élevées d'un grand nombre de documents anciens ne leur permettent pas de s'adapter à ces conditions trop rigides. C'est un principe général que le document doit être restitué sur l'écran au moins dans ses dimensions réelles ; pour les documents anciens

dont l'écriture est souvent très petite, il faut normalement prévoir une projection agrandie. La qualité des fabrications actuelles permet facilement de pousser l'agrandissement jusqu'au rapport 25: il faut donc que l'écran ait près d'un mètre carré; en réalité il nous faut un écran mobile.

D'autre part, l'appareil devra normalement projeter une image 24/36, car nous avons pratiquement renoncé à l'image 18/24; il doit pouvoir la projeter en hauteur ou en largeur.

Il doit être muni d'un appareil d'éclairage d'une grande intensité.

Il doit posséder un bon appareil d'entraînement du film, car les microfilms d'archives seront normalement conservés sous forme de rouleaux.

Comme dans les appareils de cinéma, la pression qu'exerce sur le film le châssis dans lequel glisse la pellicule doit se relâcher quand le film est en mouvement pour éviter les rayures.

Enfin, un document d'archives ancien doit pouvoir commodément être déchiffré et copié à la main; la projection sur un écran vertical est, dans ce cas, incommode: il faut donc que le lecteur puisse projeter l'image horizontalement, sur sa table; comme le rapport de réduction doit être variable, il est nécessaire que l'appareil de projection puisse s'écarter plus ou moins (du rapport 12 au rapport 25) au-dessus ou au-dessous (lecture sur un verre dépoli particulièrement indiquée pour les plans et dessins) de la table de travail (1).

Telles sont les exigences que l'expérience nous amène à formuler à l'égard des appareils de lecture: aucun de ceux qui existent actuellement ne les réplit entièrement, comme pour les appareils de prise de vue les modifications à y apporter sont techniquement réalisables, mais onéreuses; comme les appareils de prise de vue, les appareils de lecture existants donnent de bons résultats moyens, avec un peu de ingéniosité on peut les adapter à presque tous les besoins, mais ce sont là des artifices de fortune.

Le but que poursuivent les Archives pour l'utilisation des microfilm est double:

D'abord assurer au lecteur éloigné la communication des documents qu'elles conservent et, à leurs propres lecteurs, celle de documents d'autres dépôts.

On sait assez quelles facilités offrent les microfilms à cet égard pour qu'il soit inutile d'y insister, quelques questions secondaires appellent seules des observations.

Beaucoup, pour la communication et le classement des microfilms, préconisent l'emploi de la bande de 6 images.

(1) Nous laissons ici de côté la querelle de la bande perforée ou de la bande non perforée nous inclinons à préférer la bande perforée que nous employons, comme presque tout le monde en France, mais la question nous paraît intéresser les constructeurs plus que les usagers: si, dans le presse-film, un bon système d'entraînement à pression intermittente peut être réalisé avec du non-perforé, nous n'avons plus de raison de préférer le perforé. Mais une normalisation internationale devrait intervenir rapidement.

Sans en méconnaître les avantages, les Archives considèrent comme plus pratique, pour leurs besoins particuliers, le rouleau de dimensions variables : autant que possible un rouleau par liasse, registre ou carton, sans toutefois dépasser, en principe, 30m. de long. L'archiviste et l'historien, habitués à depouiller de longues séries de documents peu lisibles, ne sont pas très sensibles à l'inconvénient qu'offre, dans un rouleau, la recherche d'une image déterminée au milieu de 50 autres, chaque folio ou page d'un document étant d'ailleurs toujours numéroté ; ils bornent leurs vœux à souhaiter un appareil d'entraînement qui permette de dérouler rapidement un film et considèrent un peu comme un luxe les recherches de procédés de sélection automatique.

Il nous a paru tout à fait indispensable—et je suis heureux de voir que sur ce point, entre bien d'autres, notre expérience est confirmée par celles qu'a faites à la Direction de la Dette M. Bienenfeld—d'adopter un principe que le cinéma observe scrupuleusement : ne jamais communiquer le microfilm négatif original, cela à cause des risques de détérioration et de perte. On ne communiquera donc au lecteur que des doubles—d'où l'intérêt des appareils Debie—des contretypes ou des tirages positifs.

Par ailleurs il nous paraît, et là encore la Direction de la Dette où de nombreux employés examinent tous les jours, 8 heures par jour, des microfilms, se rencontre avec nous, qu'un négatif est plus lisible et moins fatigant qu'un positif à la projection. Le double devrait donc être préféré au tirage positif, mais d'autres considérations peuvent entraîner des exceptions à cette règle.

Main ce sont moins des facilités de diffusion que des garanties de conservation pour leur documents que les Archives ont cherchées dans les microfilms. Ils constituent, dans l'état actuel de la technique, l'assurance la moins coûteuse, la plus fidèle et la plus pratique contre les risques de destruction des originaux.

Il est superflu de rappeler que l'existence de ceux-ci est sans cesse menacée par les insectes, les bactéries, les gaz nocifs, l'oxygène même, l'humidité ou la sécheresse, la lumière, le feu et, de nos jours, les innombrables engins de destruction des armées modernes. Le microfilm échappe plus aisément à ces dangers.

Bien que l'expérience manque encore pour apprécier sa résistance au temps les essais de vieillissement artificiel effectués aux Etats Unis ont permis de constater qu'il résistait bien à une épreuve correspondant à une durée de 50 ans et on estime couramment que, conservé dans des conditions de température et d'hygrométrie qui sont, dans nos climats, normales, il aura une durée égale à celle des meilleurs papiers. On considère, cependant, comme prudent d'effectuer tous les dix ans des sondages pour vérifier l'état des clichés. Pratiquement on peut donc estimer que la durée de conservation d'une collection de microfilms est illimitée, puisque rien ne serait plus aisé que d'en effectuer un tirage ou un contretype dès qu'on constaterait des symptômes de désagrégation.

Quant aux dangers de guerre, le peu d'encombrement et le peu de poids d'une collection de ce genre rendent aisées les mesures de protection : il a fallu aux Archives nationales, en 1939, 300 camions de 3 tonnes pour évacuer une partie, une partie seulement, de leurs documents, 6 camions suffiraient pour emporter les microfilms correspondants.

Considérés comme une assurance et devant, par conséquent, pouvoir, le cas échéant, suppléer à la destruction des originaux, les microfilms doivent faire l'objet de soins particuliers lors de la prise de vue : qualité des clichés, photographie intégrale des documents recto et verso, même si le verso est blanc, échelle de réduction (décimètre) à côté de chaque document, contrôle sérieux des images, en particulier du lavage et de la teneur en hyposulfite, collation avec les originaux. Il est désirable, pour la facilité de la conservation, que les documents soient filmés par séries entières. Pour le classement, les Archives préfèrent, nous l'avons dit, les bobines qui tiennent moins de place et sont d'une manipulation plus commode que les bandes, chaque bobine correspondant à une groupe de documents homogène et recevant la cote du ou des documents reproduits : on évite ainsi d'avoir à dresser des tables de concordance qui sont la plaie des Bibliothèques ou des Archives ; mais, pour permettre le contrôle décennal, il convient de tenir un registre d'entrée.

Si le microfilmage est une précaution utile pour les documents anciens, c'est une nécessité pour les documents contemporains. La qualité des papiers est, de nos jours, si basse que les chimistes d'accordent à penser qu'ils n'en dureront pas plus de quelques dizaines d'années ; certaines encres de machine corrodent le papier ; les doubles, les "carbonés", établis sur du papier pelure particulièrement fragile et dont le colorant est posé et non fixé, sont voués à une disparition si rapide que nous en avons vu qui n'avaient pas un an de date et qui étaient déjà presque illisibles et définitivement perdus, parce qu'il fallait perdre tout espoir de pouvoir les photographier. Le seul moyen pratique de sauver la plupart des documents contemporains est donc de les microfilmer dans le plus bref délai.

Dans ces conditions, on peut se demander s'il convient encore d'essayer de sauver les originaux. La plupart des dépôts d'archives sont dès maintenant à l'étroit : on sait assez à quelles difficultés, souvent à quelles impossibilités — la Direction de la Dette en a fait l'expérience — se heurte la construction d'un nouveau dépôt. Or, il est certain qu'en microfilmant et en détruisant ensuite les originaux, on résout facilement le problème de la place.

Aux Archives nationales, en bobines de 10 m., on a pu faire tenir dans un seul carton les microfilms de documents qui occupent 315 cartons de même dimension ; en bobines de 120 m., un seul carton en contient 420. Il s'agit ici d'une série ancienne (J) de documents sur parchemin, munis de sceaux encombrants et qui sont peu tassés dans les cartons. Mais les microfilms du fonds de Simancas, en bobines de 3 m., tiennent 44 fois moins de place que les originaux, écrits sur papier et reliés. D'autres expériences, sur des registres, donnent des résultats tout à fait voisins : on peut dire qu'en moyenne les microfilms conservés en bobines permettent de réaliser une économie de place, en volume, de près de 50 fois.

La conservation en bandes de 6 images est moins avantageuse : les Archives n'ont pas expérimenté ce mode de conservation, mais M. Bienenfeld a bien voulu nous communiquer les résultats qu'il a obtenus à la Direction de la Dette : la réduction est de l'ordre de 120 m² à 0,41 m², en surface, et de 2,79 m³ à 0,21 m³ en volume.

Si, donc, on décidait de microfilmer et de détruire certains des documents contemporains actuellement entreposés dans nos Archives et que, désormais, la plupart des nouveaux versements subissent le même traitement, il serait inutile, avant longtemps, de construire de nouveaux dépôts.

La solution mérite d'être étudiée sérieusement. Certaines objections viennent tout naturellement à l'esprit : Quelle serait, devant un tribunal, la valeur probante d'un microfilm ? Actuellement les expéditions destinées aux tribunaux doivent être manuscrites, prochainement on obtiendra, vraisemblablement, la possibilité de les remplacer par des photocopies négatives sur papier, obtenues par contact ou avec des appareils à objectif et prisme pourrait-on accorder le même privilège à un microfilm ? Les experts s'accordent à penser qu'il est pratiquement impossible de truquer un cliché de 24/36 mm., la seule difficulté réside donc dans les garanties qui seront exigées à la prise de vue et dans le choix de signes de validation appropriés à apposer sur le film. Quelle que soit la solution adoptée elle ne lie pas les Archives publiques dans les mêmes conditions que les archives privées : d'abord parce que des documents conservés dans les Archives d'Etat bénéficient d'une présomption d'authenticité dont ne jouissent pas les archives privées. Ensuite, parce que les Archives d'Etat ne communiquent au public que des documents ayant au moins cinquante ans d'âge et que, dans ces conditions bien peu d'entre eux peuvent servir encore dans une action en justice. Enfin, parce que les Archives, et les Administrations, sous le visa des Archives, envoient tous les ans au pilon un grand nombre de papiers sans valeur historique après avis des ministres compétents : la même procédure s'appliquerait à la photographie et à la destruction, le microfilm acquerrait donc une valeur particulière que les tribunaux seraient bien obligés de lui reconnaître.

Du point de vue de l'historien, il va de soi qu'on exclut de cette mesure tous les documents antérieurs 1789, à dont la destruction est interdite sans exception, et probablement même tous ceux du XIX^e siècle ; qu'on en exclut, ensuite, tous les documents de première importance tels que des traités internationaux, par exemple, ou certains autographes qui prendront de façon évidente valeur de reliques mais on devrait aussi, à notre sens, conserver tout document qui pourrait appeler une expertise portant sur la nature du papier ou qui comporterait des ratures illisibles à l'œil nu, mais que l'application de rayons ultra-violet permettrait de déchiffrer. Ce ne sont que des exemples : d'autres réserves s'imposeraient certainement et il est bien évident qu'une mesure aussi radicale ne serait pas prise sans l'avis d'une commission compétente.

Plus grave serait peut-être l'objection financière. On admet que la construction d'un dépôt de 10 km. de rayonnages revient à environ 100.000.000. fr. Or, d'après nos calculs, très approximatifs naturellement, 10 km. de rayonnages

représentent au moins 20.000.000 de folios, soit, recto et verso compris, 40,000, 000 de clichés ; donc, à 4 fr, l'image, prix très bas, le microfilmage de ce dépôt reviendrait à 160,000,000 en 24/36, 80,000,000, en 18/24. Le microfilmage est, en somme, aussi coûteux que la construction.

Il est vrai que, d'une part, l'élément financier n'entre pas seul en jeu: il y a le manque de place, la pénurie de matériaux, l'aspect social de la construction; et que, d'autre part, le problème ne se pose pas sous cette forme théorique, mais bien, plutôt sous la suivante: supposons un dépôt qui s'enrichisse actuellement d'un km de documents par an, est-il plus avantageux de dépenser 100.000.000 pour construire un local qui dans dix ans sera comble ou de prendre tous les ans 4.000.000 de clichés qui tiendront sur 20 m. de rayonnages et coûteront 16.000.000 ?

Nous posons la question, nous n'avons pas qualité pour y répondre.

D'ailleurs, bientôt, peut-être, pourrons nous la poser avec d'autres données : à côté du microfilm de 35 mm., on utilise aussi le microfilm de 16 mm., beaucoup plus pratique, mais d'un emploi plus limité. Nous n'avons pas encore essayé de l'appliquer aux Archives, mais, d'après ce que nous en connaissons, il est tout à fait probable qu'il conviendrait parfaitement, sinon à tous, du moins à un grand nombre de documents contemporains. Or le cliché de 16 mm. ne coûte guère que le quart du cliché de 35 mm. microfilmage d'un dépôt de 10 km. reviendrait, dans ce cas, à 40.000.000, la moitié du prix de la construction.

Mais, à vrai dire, pour les documents contemporains, nous n'avons pas le choix: notre beau dépôt de 10 km., dans cinquante ans, lorsque les documents qu'il devrait conserver deviendront accessibles aux historiens, il ne contiendra plus que de la poussière.

Les archivistes consacrent actuellement beaucoup de temps, de soin et d'ingéniosité à classer et à répertorier les archives de l'Occupation : dans cinquante ans, dans vingt peut-être, il ne restera rien de ces documents, beaucoup d'entre eux déjà ne sont peut-être plus photographiables : si on ne microfilme immédiatement ces dossiers, cette source capitale, unique, des quatre années que sont parmi les plus tragiques de notre histoire, disparaîtra entièrement.

Ce n'est ici qu'un exemple, il faut le généraliser : tous les documents d'archives, tous les journaux, la plupart des livres de ces dernières années sont sous le coup de la même condamnation. Les archivistes ne peuvent que signaler le danger et indiquer le remède, le seul remède ; c'est au gouvernement qu'il appartient de décider s'il veut oui ou non que nous fassions figure dans l'Histoire.

ARCHIVES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By Solon J. Buck

Life in the United States would be simpler, for archivists, if we had followed the British example and called our National Archives the Public Record Office. Then the man in the street would have some conception of its function upon hearing its name. As you in India have done, however, we adopted the French rather than the English practice, and we call our institution for preserving the non-current official records of our Federal Government the National Archives. Most of us in the United States use the word "archives" to mean an organized body of official records of an agency, organization, or institution, public or private, that has been preserved in official custody. We do not usually apply the word to collections of miscellaneous historical manuscripts, no matter how valuable they may be. We also use the word "archives," in the plural form, to denote an institution that has as its function the preservation and servicing of bodies of records, or archives.

The differences between the status of archives and records in our country and in some others are due in part to differences in social and political organization, especially in the location of authority. Our central Government is more like that of India than that of England. That is, it is federal in character, and many of the responsibilities and activities of a central government such as that of England pertain in our country to the separate States or even to the counties and municipalities. As a consequence our National Government has no jurisdiction over archives or records except those that result from its own activities. Moreover, neither our National Government nor our State or local governments can exercise any authority over private, ecclesiastical, or business records, unless they have been voluntarily placed in the custody of a governmental institution.

The centralization of records or archives in institutions especially designed to care for them did not take place to any considerable extent in the United States until about the end of the nineteenth century. Even thereafter for many years most of the institutions that had charge of archives were also historical societies or libraries and did not have much knowledge of the principles of archives administration as they had developed in Europe over the centuries.

We had no central institution to care for the records of our Federal Government until the National Archives of the United States was established in 1934. Before that there were, in two or three of the major departments of the Government, bureaus or divisions that had special responsibility for noncurrent records, but most of the other noncurrent records of the Federal Government remained

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in the custody of the filing offices of the various bureaus that had accumulated them. These offices were primarily interested, of course, in the current records; and the older material was usually stored in attics and basements, where it was practically inaccessible and frequently suffered much damage from those enemies of documents identified by an English archivist of Queen Elizabeth's time as "Fier, Water, Ratts and Myce, Misplaceinge, even plaine taking of them away." Since 1934, however, great progress has been made. Nearly all the extant valuable noncurrent records of departments and offices of the Federal Government are now in the National Archives, where their preservation is assured.

The problem of the mere physical bulk of these Federal records is a very difficult one for the National Archives. Though our country's history is short, the quantity of material that has been filed as records, especially in the last half century, is so great that it threatens to overwhelm not only the archivists but also the scholars and officials who have occasion to consult the records. On July 1, 1948, there were in the custody of our National Archives over 850,000 cubic feet of records. Since the invention of the typewriter, the making of records has become almost too easy. Much is recorded and filed that might well be left unrecorded or be disposed of as soon as it has served a temporary purpose. As a result of this problem of the size of its holdings, our National Archives has worked out certain ways of dealing with records that differ from those of institutions holding chiefly the relatively small bulk of manuscript material that has come down to us from the centuries before the industrial revolution. To deal with the records of the machine age man needs machines!

Shipments of records are usually brought into the National Archives building in covered motor trucks. As soon as possible after their receipt, they are examined by the Cleaning and Rehabilitation Branch and are given such treatment as may be necessary and feasible. To destroy fungi and vermin, all records entering the building are fumigated with a mixture of ethylene oxide and carbon dioxide in a vacuum chamber large enough to accommodate 300 cubic feet of material at one fumigation. When papers are dusty or dirty they are cleaned by means of compressed air released through a specially designed air gun. Folded documents that are to be unfolded are placed in a special vault on stainless steel racks and there are exposed to air containing a high percentage of water vapor. After humidification the papers are opened and are ironed in an electrically heated mangle, or, if fragile, they are pressed between blotters. Torn or damaged documents are repaired by lamination with two sheets of very thin and perfectly transparent cellulose acetate foil, which fuses with the paper upon the application of heat and pressure in a large hydraulic press equipped with steam-heated platens. The National Archives has two such presses, each of which has a capacity of 400,000 letter-size sheets annually. Thus the rehabilitation of documents has been put on a mass-production basis. The initial cost of the equipment is high, but its use saves many hours of the manpower that would be required if manual processes of repair were used. Even with the

equipment used, the fifteen workers of the Cleaning and Rehabilitation Branch have more work than they can do.

When large shipments are received it is usually necessary to send material on to the stacks as soon as it is fumigated and cleaned, but, as rapidly as facilities and staff permit, sections of it are returned to the Cleaning and Rehabilitation Branch for further treatment. The stack area of the Archives building is windowless. In addition to being shielded from daylight there, the papers are surrounded by air that is carefully conditioned. The temperature is kept between 65 and 75 degrees Fahrenheit, the relative humidity is held between 45 and 55 percent, and the air is washed and treated to reduce its chemical and dust content. The records are further protected by elaborate devices for detecting and preventing fire and unauthorized entry into the stack sections.

The records in the National Archives have been arranged in some 250 "record groups". In general each of these groups contains all the noncurrent records believed to be worth permanent preservation of one of the major bureaus or independent offices of the Federal Government. Again because of the size of the holdings, the record groups, or the subgroups or series within them and not the individual documents have to be the units by which the records are described or inventoried. It would be utterly impracticable to attempt to make a calendar, catalog, list, or index, document by document, of the material in a large record group. Each group is described in general terms in a new edition of the *Guide to the Material in the National Archives*, which is now in press and will run to about 700 pages. In addition, the staff of the National Archives is compiling, as rapidly as possible, preliminary inventories of the records in each of the groups. These inventories are called preliminary because the arrangement of the records has not yet been perfected and the inventories will be revised from time to time. They list the records by what we call "series", meaning thereby papers that were originally filed together and must be kept together because of their interrelationships. Unfortunately, most of our Government's unbound records are not in dossiers or case-files but are in bulky series of files arranged according to the wide variety of filing systems in use in different Government agencies at different times. In accordance with the recognized principle of provenance, the archivists do not usually rearrange the records except to correct mistakes, and that makes possible the use of the various original lists, catalogs, indexes, and other finding aids that were compiled when the records were in current use.

The problem of the physical bulk of extant Government records has also forced the National Archives to work out new systems for the disposal of records not worth preserving. Although there are, as I have said, some 850,000 cubic feet of records in the National Archives, the quantity of records remaining in the custody of the other agencies of the Federal Government is many times as great. Most of these records, however, are relatively recent and a very large proportion of them have only temporary value for any purpose and will be discarded in the course of time. The National Archives has much responsibility with reference to the disposal of worthless records, for no records of the Federal

Government may legally be discarded unless the Archivist of the United States has decided that they are not worth preserving. In order to make easier the process of disposing of worthless papers, the National Archives has worked out a system of scheduling records by types, with indications of the number of years that the records of each type must be preserved. These schedules make it possible for the offices to discard the records described in them after they have reached the required age and without any further reference to the National Archives.

Many of the records still in the custody of other agencies of the Government have enduring values, however, and should be preserved permanently. Such records, when they are no longer needed in connection with the ordinary work of the agencies that have accumulated them, are expected to be transferred to the National Archives. Some valuable records become noncurrent when they are only a year or two old; others remain in current use for twenty or thirty years, or even longer. Here again the National Archives is working out schedules with the offices, which are in the nature of agreements on their part to transfer records of certain types when they have reached a certain age, and on the part of the National Archives to accept such records. The Archives is not required, however, to take records if it does not consider them to be of enduring value or if it does not have the space available in which to care for them.

It soon became apparent to the staff of the National Archives that the appraising of records to determine whether they should be transferred to the Archives, retained somewhat longer by the offices, or disposed of as worthless papers was made difficult by the unsatisfactory methods of filing and of management of current records in most of the offices. A great deal of effort, therefore, has been devoted to persuading the agencies to file their records of enduring value separately from those have only temporary values and to close their files and start new ones from time to time so that the non-current records will not be so intermingled with current records that it will be difficult if not impossible to segregate them either for discarding or for transfer to the National Archives. These efforts have had very valuable results, especially with reference to the temporary offices of the Federal Government that were set up during the last war. As such offices have been discontinued the care of their records has become a responsibility of the National Archives. Fortunately many of them employed competent persons as records officers, often persons who had been members of the staff of the National Archives, and under their direction the records were so organized and arranged that it has been possible to segregate for preservation the relatively small proportion of them that deals with policy and other matters of importance and continuing interest and to provide for the destruction of the remainder without serious danger of loss to future administration research.

About the time of the beginning of the war, some of the major departments of the Government, such as the Army and Navy Departments, made provision for the administration of their records by competent officials who understand

the archival point of view. Because of the vast quantities of records that they have to deal with, and also because many of the offices that accumulated the records are no longer in existence, these departments have found it necessary to establish what we call "intermediate depositories", where records of discontinued units and offices and other noncurrent records of the departments are centralized pending the time when they can be either destroyed or transferred to the National Archives. Most of these depositories are outside of Washington and one of them, a depository for Army records in St. Louis, Missouri, has many more records in its charge than does the National Archives and has a much larger number of employees than the 352 persons on the Archives staff.

Once records have come into the custody of the Archives, they are as a rule accessible to the public. It is not the practice, as it is in some European archives, to refuse access to records until they have been arranged and inventoried. The archivists render the best service they can on them from the time they are received. Of course, some records in the National Archives of a confidential character are restricted or closed to the public. For example, part of the records of the Department of State dating from 1922 to 1944 may be consulted only with permission of officials of the Department. The records of this Department down to the year 1922, however, are open without restriction, a situation that compares very favorably with that of the foreign office records of other nations.

Partly because many records are only a few years old when they come to the National Archives, much of the service on them is rendered to the agencies from which the records are received. Much is also rendered to other agencies of the Government, and one of the greatest advantages resulting from the centralization of noncurrent records in the National Archives is the fact that they then become available for use by agencies other than those that originally accumulated them. Much service is also rendered to scholars, not only to historians, but also to economists, political scientists, sociologists, and occasionally even to natural scientists. Even more services are rendered to individual citizens—lawyers, business men, genealogists, and others—who seek specific evidence or information that may be useful to them in some way.

These services are rendered in four different ways. In the first place records are frequently loaned to agencies of the Government, though never to private individuals. Although that is a very troublesome service, sometimes involving difficulty in getting the documents back, without it many of the records would not come into the custody of the Archives until many more years had elapsed, and in the meantime some of them might not be properly cared for. In the second place, records are made available to those who want to use them—Government officials, scholars, and others—in the search-rooms of the National Archives. The general search-rooms, which are equipped to accommodate one hundred workers, are open every day except Sunday—from 8-45 a.m. to 10 p.m. on Mondays to Fridays inclusive and from 8-45 a.m. to 5-15 p.m. on Saturdays. Many searchers also work in the divisional search-rooms, which are in the stack area and adjacent to the records in the custody of the various

divisions. Here in the search-rooms the searcher may consult the inventories and other finding aids that are available, and here he is aided, when necessary, by members of the staff in determining the material needed. In the third place, a great deal of information taken from records in the custody of the Archives is supplied in response to requests received by mail or by telephone. And, finally, reproductions of records are made by photostat or by microphotography for those who desire them. No charge is made for this service to offices or officials of the Federal Government; for others it is rendered at cost.

From what I have already said, it should be clear that one should not expect to find in the National Archives our colonial and Revolutionary records, with the possible exception of the records of the Continental Congress, which was our central Government from the Declaration of Independence until the adoption of the Constitution in 1787. As a matter of fact, the main body of the records of the Continental Congress, which includes our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution, is in the Library of Congress, with which these records were deposited many years before the National Archives was established. Most of the colonial and Revolutionary records, however, are kept by the thirteen original States that existed as colonies before the Declaration of Independence. Although some provision has been made for the care of such records in all of those States, only three or four of them, I regret to say, have adequate archival agencies, among which the Maryland Hall of Records is perhaps outstanding. In the western States such centralization of state archives or records as has taken place thus far has usually been accomplished by State historical societies or departments of archives and history, which have not as a rule had the facilities or personnel trained for archival work that they need to enable them to do an adequate job in this field. An outstanding exception is the Archives of Illinois, which although it is a department of the State Library, is largely autonomous and has a fine modern building devoted entirely to its work. Generally speaking, it may be said that most of the noncurrent records of our States are still in the custody of the various State offices that accumulated them and are not cared for in accordance with archival principles. There are, however, movements under way in a number of States, notably in the great States of New York and Pennsylvania, which, it is hoped, will lead to the erection of archives buildings and the establishment of distinct archival agencies or public records offices in the near future.

Local public records in the United States are usually even worse cared for. Not one of our great cities has as yet established a municipal archives or made provision for the centralization of its valuable noncurrent records. Records of counties, towns, and villages, regardless of their age or historical value, are usually kept by local officials who have little knowledge of their value. In a few States, notably Connecticut and New York, State officials have been specially designated to see to it that local records are properly cared for, and in a number of the eastern States some of the older and more important local records have been deposited in the State archival agency. During the depression of the 1930's

the Historical Records Survey, a Federal agency established to provide work for unemployed persons, made inventories of the records of most of the counties and some of the cities of the country, so that at least we have the possibility of knowing what local records were in existence at that time.

The situation with reference to business records—that is, the records of private firms and corporations—is much the same, but it shows signs of improvement. Libraries and historical societies, notably the Baker Library of Harvard University, the library of the University of Virginia, and the Newberry Library in Chicago, have collected and are preserving vast quantities of records of former business establishments and also older records of existing corporations. A more promising development, however, is seen in the tendency of a number of large corporations to set up their own archives, sometimes managed by professional archivists, which care for their noncurrent records that are worth preservation. Notable among these corporations are the Firestone Rubber Company of Akron, Ohio; the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company, with headquarters in Denver, Colorado; and the Westinghouse Company of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. A group of historians and archivists in New York City has set up a special service agency to assist business firms in managing their records, appraising them, and segregating and caring for such of them as ought to be permanently preserved. It is hoped that arrangements may be made for a special depository in which such records may be preserved, at the expense of the owners, and may be available, with their permission, for use by scholars.

Church records also have until recently received little professional archival attention and are still widely scattered throughout the United States. Many of them fortunately were also inventoried by the Historical Records Survey. During the last decade or so some of the major denominations, notably the Roman Catholic Church, have made considerable progress in centralizing important church records and in training the custodians of such records in archives administration.

The collection and preservation of personal and family papers—or “historical manuscripts,” as we frequently call them—has been carried on actively for many years by the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, by similar divisions of other large libraries, and by State and local historical societies throughout the country. Although the Historical Records Survey gathered considerable information concerning such collections, we do not yet have an adequate inventory of them. Many personal papers of great historical value still remain, of course, in the possession of persons who accumulated them or of their descendants, and there are also many private collectors who have acquired, by purchase or otherwise, quantities of individual documents of special interest and value. The sale of “autographs” to such collectors and to historical societies and libraries is an extensive business enterprise in the United States, and it frequently results in the breaking up of groups of papers that, from the standpoint of research value, ought to be kept together.

The repositories of personal papers and other historical manuscripts, as well as those of archives, are confronted with the problem of bulk, unless they confine their collections to an early period or a very limited field. This may be illustrated by a comparison of the sizes of two groups of papers in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress; the George Washington Papers are estimated to number about 87,000 documents, which is unusually large for eighteenth century collections, while those of William Howard Taft, mainly twentieth century papers, amount to about 260,000. It is obvious that principles of selection for preservation, with reference both to collections and the materials in them, will have to be developed, but it is also obvious that the quantity of twentieth century historical manuscripts that will have to be preserved, if the story of mankind in that century is to be adequately documented, will be vastly greater than the quantity that has been preserved for any previous century.

The most serious aspect of this problem of bulk is not the obvious one of space and equipment for preservation, but it is rather that of arrangement and control to make the material usable. The older procedures of meticulous re-arrangement in chronological order of all documents in a collection of personal papers, of mounting and binding them in that order, and of making card indexes, catalogs, or calendars of them, piece by piece, are gradually being abandoned, so far as bulky recent collections are concerned at least. The tendency is in the direction of recognizing and preserving whatever arrangement may have been given to the papers by the original accumulator or his assistants, filing them in folders (using the original folders if possible), putting the folders in cartons similar to transfer boxes, and shelving the labeled boxes. Finding aids will have to be confined, as a rule, to overall descriptions of the collections and inventories by series or files, unless original indexes accompany the papers. The system will not make it easy to find a specific letter written by a given person on a given date, but it will enable the investigator to determine what collections, or series, or files are likely to contain pertinent material and it will preserve significant interrelationships among documents that have sometimes been lost under arbitrary systems of rearrangement.

The problem of distinguishing between the personal papers of important public officers and the official records of their offices has aroused a great deal of interest in the United States in recent months. Traditionally, our presidents have considered the papers that accumulated in the White House during their administrations as personal papers and have carried away such of them as they did not destroy. In many cases such papers of the presidents have later been acquired by the Library of Congress by gift or by purchase and are now preserved as part of our cultural heritage. The papers of President Hoover have been deposited in a special library set up by him at Stanford University, California, and those of President Hayes are preserved in a special library in Ohio under the supervisions of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

The quantity of papers that accumulated in the White House during the administrations of President Franklin D. Roosevelt was very much greater than accumulated by any of his predecessors. Realizing that these papers would ultimately be of great historical value and public interest, President Roosevelt persuaded Congress to establish a special institution to care for them. That institution, known as the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, is situated at Hyde Park, New York, adjacent to the President's former home, which is now a "national monument" maintained by the Government. The building for the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library was constructed with funds raised by private subscription and was then turned over to the Federal Government, which agreed to maintain it and the materials housed in it. Those materials include, in addition to the papers of President Roosevelt, other collections of related personal papers and a considerable museum of objects collected by or relating to the former President, which is visited by hundreds of thousands of people every year. The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library is under the general supervision of the Archivist of the United States, but it is not considered to be a part of the National Archives proper. Some of the papers of President Roosevelt in the Library are already available for use by scholars, and more of them are being made available as rapidly as they can be examined and arranged.

From what I have said, it is apparent that the archival profession is a very recent one in the United States. The first course designed for the training of archivists was given by me at Columbia University only ten years ago, and I regret to have to admit that the instructor did not know much more about his subject than did his students. Since 1939 such a course has been given annually in Washington, under the auspices of the American University and the National Archives, and several hundred students have taken that course or the short summer course that has also been given during the last four years. These training courses have benefitted very greatly from the participation of Dr. Ernst Posner, who was formerly a professional archivist in Germany and who removed to the United States in 1939 and has become a citizen of our country. Since 1941, when I became Archivist of the United States, he has carried the full responsibility for these training courses.

When I first attempted to teach archives administration in 1938, there was very little material available in English that was appropriate for use in such a course. Since then, however, a number of important books and articles have been translated into English from continental languages and a surprisingly large number of useful articles have been written in English. The establishment of the Society of American Archivists eleven years ago and the inauguration of its quarterly journal, the *American Archivist*, soon thereafter, have accomplished a great deal for the promotion of the archival profession in the United States. The progress that will be made in the future depends, however, in large part upon the extent to which archival institutions and repositories of manuscripts are able to establish themselves as agencies that are important and even neces-

sary to society. In the long run the adequacy and success of archival work will depend upon the extent to which its social value is appreciated by the intelligent public.

In conclusion, I want to say that we in the United States recognize, as do archivists in India and elsewhere, that we must look beyond the boundaries of our own country. In this modern world, the archives of all countries are interrelated, and only when all of them are taken into consideration will it be possible to understand the development of modern civilization in all its aspects. Moreover, information about the activities, methods and accomplishments of archivists in other countries will help all of us to improve our own work. As a consequence, we in the United States have been much gratified by recent evidences of international cooperation in the archival field. In our own hemisphere, some years ago, there was organized a regional group, the Association of Librarians, Archivists, and Custodians of Museums of the Caribbean area. Recently there has been organized an Inter-American Committee on Archives of the Commission on History of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History. We hope that in the course of time this committee, of which I have the honour to be a member, will arrange for the holding of an Inter-American Congress of Archivists.

After considerable preliminary work and discussion by archivists in the United States and elsewhere, the first formal step toward establishing a worldwide organization of archivists was taken in June, 1948. Under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization—UNESCO—a committee of archivists, invited by UNESCO, met in Paris to consider and decide upon proposals for an international archives organization. The participating archivists represented Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom (England), and the United States; and observers were present from Australia and from the American Military Government in Germany. An International Council on Archives was established, a constitution was adopted, officers were elected, and it was tentatively agreed to hold the first International Congress of Archivists in Paris in 1950, probably in the week preceding the contemplated first post-war International Congress of Historical Sciences. It is our hope that when this meeting takes place, archivists from India and other "Far Eastern" nations will be present and will help to integrate the archivist's "One World."

UNESCO'S CONCERN WITH ARCHIVES

By Ernst Posner

The United States National Commission for UNESCO has "concluded, and so reported to the Secretary of State, that all proposed activities of UNESCO should be judged by their relation to UNESCO's constitutional purpose 'to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture'."¹ The word "peace" in this statement is to be "understood in a positive rather than a negative sense," according to the interpretation given it by the United States Delegation to the first session of the General Conference in Paris. It is to be understood as "a condition of mutual confidence, harmony of purpose, and co-ordination of activities in which free men and women can live a satisfactory life."² How, it may be asked, can archives "contribute to peace" as "a condition of mutual understanding" between the peoples?

International understanding as a goal for the future is predicated on an outlook on the past that is untinted by national prejudice and bias, and cannot be achieved as long as nations violently disagree on the interpretation of historical events. Rightly therefore "plans for a comprehensive revision of textbooks and teaching materials in the interest of international truthfulness, international understanding, and international peace"³ have received much emphasis in the basic program of UNESCO. Textbooks, however, represent a condensation for educational purposes of research work, and truly objective textbooks cannot be hoped for unless scholars succeed in analyzing past events with that spirit of international truthfulness that is the prerequisite of mutual understanding.

An objective analysis of the past does not only depend on the scholar's will to use his sources objectively and to represent results *sine ira et studio*. It is also contingent on the availability of all pertinent research materials. Realizing the importance of removing barriers that "exist in connection with libraries and museums," the commentary of the Drafting Committee of the Paris Conference urges that studies be made "of discriminatory commercial rates, of bureaucratic

A former archivist at the Prussian Privy State Archives, Dr. Ernst Posner became an American citizen in 1939 and took charge of the training classes in Archives Administration at the American University in Washington, D.C. He is at present the Director of the School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs of the American University and a Corresponding member of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

¹ United States Delegation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, First General Conference, Paris, 1946. *Report* . . . Washington, Government Printing Office, 1947 (State Department, Conference Series 97), p. 9.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

customs formalities, of unnecessary high postal rates and of similar obstacles to the movement of books and other materials of communication." Undoubtedly, the removal of all such difficulties will be beneficial to the scholar but it will solve only part of his problem.

Research in the field of history, and of the social sciences in general, depends not only on printed sources but also on the unprinted materials of archival and manuscript depositories, and, for research in the more recent phases of history especially, the use of such unprinted sources becomes increasingly important and indispensable. For centuries books, newspapers, and pamphlets have moved more or less unhampered across the national boundaries and have been the common intellectual property of the world. Archives, on the other hand, were not opened to scholarly research until during the French Revolution, and even after that governments for many decades remained loath to admit the scholar to the use of their official records. Nevertheless, the right of the citizen to examine records of his government, if they are not of a restricted nature, became firmly established, and it made possible to a large extent the flourishing of historical research during the period of nationalism that led to the two world wars.

It was, however, the native scholar chiefly who benefited from the increasingly liberal attitude of governments. There remained throughout the 19th and 20th centuries a greater or lesser amount of discrimination against the foreign scholar desirous of using the archives of another country than his own. While this discrimination might be reduced to a minimum between allied and friendly countries it became manifest in cases in which relations between the foreign scholar's state and the state whose archives he wished to use were tense or unfriendly, and governments would resort to a variety of delays and subterfuges to bar a foreign scholar from access to records they did not wish him to see.

In the first place, procedure governing admission of all foreign scholars to archival research rooms was cumbersome and involved. While natives obtained admission by simply applying to the archival authorities, a foreigner had to use the good offices of his diplomatic representative who forwarded his application to the foreign office of the respective country. The foreign office, in turn, would send it on to the ministry in charge of archival matters, the ministry would ask for the reports of the archival depositories whose holdings the foreign scholar wished to consult and finally the decision would be communicated to the petitioner through the same complicated channels. That four to eight weeks were needed to complete this procedure is not surprising, and if the foreign scholar was naive enough to start it after arriving at his place of destination the time set aside for his work had mostly expired before he obtained his permit.

¹ United States Delegation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, First General Conference, Paris, 1946. *Report* Washington, Government Printing Office, 1947 (State Department, Conference Series 97), p. 83.

Frequently, use of records by a foreign scholar whose research topic was not looked upon favourably by the government of another country could thus be effectively prevented by means of delay and simple red tape. Excuses of a dubious character had to be resorted to if he was experienced enough to start his application well in advance. In such cases, he might be told that the records he wished to see were in the process of being arranged and inventoried, or that the government was planning to make them available in an official publication and could not allow private scholars to use them.

European scholars who wished to see records of foreign governments for research on controversial or delicate topics could tell many stories of fruitless efforts to obtain access to them. One typical case may be related in detail: in the 1930's a German scholar, working on the devastation of the Palatinate during the campaigns of Louis XIV, applied and obtained permission to use the pertinent materials of the Archives of the French Ministry of War. When he arrived in Paris, however, he learned that his permit had already expired (although he had not been told that it was limited) and that he could not see the records. When he re-applied he was notified that the French Government was examining into the question of their publication and that therefore they could not be made available to a private searcher.

Similar tactics were applied in other European countries. For a long time, Danish scholars had the greatest difficulties in obtaining access to the Prussian records on the Slesvig-Holstein question, and between Prussia-Germany and Poland something equivalent to a status of archival war existed from the end of the first to the beginning of the second world war. While Prussian scholars were not allowed to see certain records pertaining to Prussian administration of Polish territory that had been delivered to Poland in 1807, Polish scholars were more or less completely barred from access to the Berlin records that were indispensable for research in the 19th and 20th century history of Poland's formerly Prussian provinces and in the Polish policy of the Prussian and German Governments. As a matter of fact, applications of all Polish scholars were received and handled with the greatest suspicion. Even if they seemed to be interested in subjects of a perfectly innocent kind, it was feared that they would abuse their searcher privileges to get access to materials they were not supposed to see.

Generally speaking, historians and other social scientists of the pre-war period were not assured of free and unhampered access to archives as one of the most important classes of research material. The moment they extended their studies to archival materials of other countries, they were likely to run into administrative obstacles and possibly into ill will on the part of governments that were averse to grant to the foreigner the privileges they accorded their nationals.

It seems imperative to remedy this situation if we intend to achieve an internationally-minded interpretation of the past. How can we hope to arrive at textbooks that do not "poison the minds of children and young people"¹ as long as access to the primary research material of history is contingent upon the nationality of the searcher and as long as records that may reflect unfavourably upon policies and activities of a state are reserved for the trusted, that is the nationality biased, scholar? Free and equal access "by the citizens of all countries"² to archival materials must be guaranteed if their truthful and unbiased use, a prerequisite of truthful and unbiased treatment of past events, is to be guaranteed.

At present, accessibility of archival materials depends solely on the discretion of the government that owns them. What we must strive for is that they become available to all searchers of all nations under uniform terms, and it is UNESCO alone that can remove existing barriers by pronouncing a bill of rights for the user of archives. UNESCO should draft a "code of principles or ethics" that would govern all nations in giving access to their archives, and it should use its machinery to see to it that this code is constantly and faithfully adhered to by its member states. The French Revolution opened the doors of the archives of the French Kings to the citizens of France. It is our hope that UNESCO will open the archives of all countries to the citizens of the new world. (By doing so, it will help to lay the foundations of "mutual confidence" among nations and thus "contribute to peace and security."

¹ United States Delegation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, First General Conference, Paris, 1946. *Report* . . . Washington, Government Printing Office, 1947 (State Department, Conference Series 97), p. 11.

² *Ibid*, p. 101.

A FRESH STUDY OF SIR JOHN MACPHERSON, A MADRAS CIVILIAN

By C. S. Srinivasachari

I

Sir John Macpherson was a typical adventurer of the refined type who found the political atmosphere of British politics in India of later 18th century most congenial to his genius and temper. He was the son of a Scottish clergyman and received a good classical education, first at Aberdeen, and afterwards at Edinburgh University where he was the favourite pupil of Professor Fergusson, and subsequently became tutor to the sons of the Earl of Warwick. He went out to India, nominally as the Purser of *The Mansfield*, a ship commanded by his uncle, Captain Macleod. When the ship touched at Madras, he landed there and was introduced to the Nawab of Arcot (1768). In a short time he speedily acquired so much consideration with the Nawab of the Carnatic by his plausible and assuring talk that the latter engaged him to return to England as his agent, with letters addressed to the Duke of Grafton, then Prime Minister, and seeking protection for himself from the King's Government against the Company. It is said that Macpherson persuaded the Duke of Grafton into interesting himself so far in his own favour as to secure for him a writership on the Madras Establishment. Whatever might have been the inner nature of this relationship and the truth of the assertions that bribes on a gigantic scale were offered to the Minister and his Secretary, it was certain that the conduct of Macpherson as the champion of the Nawab was plausible and not offensive to either of them. The Madras Government had communicated to the Directors their suspicion that the Nawab was holding a secret correspondence "with some Person or Persons in England" . . . This correspondence, we believe, is carried on through the means of British subjects in the Nabob's Services." Thus in the time of Governor Wynch, the Madras Council resolved to prohibit the attendance of Europeans at the Nawab's durbar. But a split arose over the question whether the prohibition should extend to the members of the Council or should be marked only by the exemption of the Governor from its operation. The Nawab on his side was anxious to secure the friendship of the English King and Government as he greatly feared that his private creditors who were mostly in the service of the Company would influence the Company against him. Macpherson remained in England till the

Before becoming Principal of R. D. M. College, Sivaganga, S. I., Dewan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari had served for many years as Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University. An enthusiastic member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, the Dewan Bahadur is an author of many important publications based on original records. As Convener of the Madras Regional Records Survey Committee set up by the Commission, he has brought to light a large collection of records in private custody.

beginning of 1770, when he voyaged to Madras, with the order of appointment to the Madras service to which he was not readily admitted by Mr. Du Pré, the Governor. In 1774 he was the Paymaster of the Army. He was naturally strongly on the side of the Nawab in the violent disputes that then rose between the Governor and the former.

When Pigot assumed the governorship of Madras for the second time (December 1775), his first object was the restoration of the dispossessed Raja of Tanjore to his throne. Nawab Walajah bitterly opposed this attempt and was supported by his European creditors and by a Majority of the Council. In January 1776 Pigot laid before the Council an unsigned paper*, which, he declared, had been placed in his hands, and which was entitled "A Short Memorial of Services to his Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, Walaujah and etc., by, whom he sent upon a secret commission to His Majesty's first Minister of State, 1767." Written in the first person, it set forth the proceedings of Mr. Macpherson in England in the years 1768—70, his negotiations on behalf of the Nawab and his representations on the alleged indignity and tyranny with which that prince was treated by the Company. The 'anonymous' author of this paper averred that "he had published pamphlets in England extolling the virtues of the Nawab, and took credit for the notice and portrait of Walajah which appeared in "Major Dow's History, 2nd edition." Macpherson was really grateful to the Nawab whom he deemed to be the root of his success in life; and he felt to the last "a strong opinion as to the validity and legality of the Nawab's claims to independent sovereignty and as to his unjust and undignified treatment by the Madras Government."

When asked to appear before the Council and to state whether he was the author of this paper, Macpherson refused to give a definite answer, but pleaded that the transactions mentioned in that paper related to a time before he entered the service of the Company. Pigot, supported by a majority, dismissed Macpherson from service, declaring that his reply was "a clear proof not only that he is the author, but that he still holds the same principles, unfaithful to the Company and ruinous to their interest, and therefore a very improper person to remain in their Service." (M.C. 23rd Jan. 1776).

II

Macpherson returned to England in 1777 and was known to have taken up the cause of the Ministry by writing pamphlets etc., on its behalf. He was again the bearer of communications from the Nawab, which included his so-called will in which King George was nominated as the executor of his will and the guardian of his family, duties which were said to have been accepted by His Majesty.

* It had been known that in the early days of 1776 Macpherson was surreptitiously visiting the Nawab at night in order to claim recognition of his former services; but the latter having been depressed by the British occupation of Tanjore, handed Macpherson's memorial to Lord Pigot.

What was more important was the fact that Macpherson was entrusted by the Nawab with an account of the secret overtures that had been made to him by the French requesting his assistance and co-operation and at the same time promising to help him in recovering Tanjore, which had been designed to be converted into a principality for his second son, Amir-ul-Omara, and which he had been forced by Pigot to restore to its rightful ruler. This information was useful to the Ministry and enabled it to take prompt measures for the coming war with France, by sending secret orders through the Chairman and Deputy Chairman and the President of the Board of Control, which the Secretary of State would not sign, to speedily effect the capture of Pondicherry, lest it became the source of supplies of arms for the enemies of the English. As has been shrewdly remarked by Wilson, "the readiness with which the Nabob imparted the temptations offered him, displayed none of that disposition to engage in desperate designs against the British Power, with which he is charged by the Report, as a consequence of Mr. Macpherson's flattering delusions." This communication and the support that Macpherson gave to Lord North's administration, both by his pen, and in Parliament, in which he managed to get the seat for Crickdale, no doubt recommended him to the consideration of the Prime Minister, and led to his nomination to a seat in the Supreme Council of Bengal. The Directors concurred in his appointment; and they probably felt that they had "little reason to apprehend his giving countenance to the Nabob, in opposition to the interests of the Company, and more probably anticipated, from his personal influence, the confirmation of the Nabob's purpose in a continued rejection of any intercourse with France." It may be remarked here that in order to reward his services by securing his restoration to the Madras Service, the Company referred for opinion to their Standing Counsel whether Mr. Macpherson, dismissed by the Madras Government in an informal manner, could be restored by a mere majority of the Court of Directors only, or whether in conformity with the provisions of the existing act of Parliament concerning dismissed servants, there was the necessity of securing for the restoration the support of three-fourths of the Directors and three-fourths of the Proprietors. The Company's Counsel opined that though the act of dismissal was informal, yet Macpherson could not be restored by a simple majority of the Directors. But he added, as his opinion: "It is worth while considering, if Mr. Macpherson should be restored, whether he is a proper person to be continued in the Company's Service. He had, in my opinion, too much connection with the Nabob of Arcot; and when the Company's interest and Nabob's are affected, as they will often happen, they will greatly disturb a man of honour and integrity." The Directors did not evidently relish this opinion which went against their resolve and managed to secure a contrary opinion from Mr. Wedderburn, then Solicitor-General to Government (and later Lord Chancellor under the title of Lord Loughborough). That eminent authority was of the view that the dismissal of Mr. Macpherson was irregular and therefore he was still legally in the Company's Service. The

Directors promptly acted on this opinion and informed the Government of Madras that Mr. John Macpherson still remained in the Company's Service with proper status on their establishment. But they took care to add, as if to soften their own really unsustainable act of restoration, that "as his behaviour was disrespectful to your board, and in other respects very reprehensible, we direct that you give him a severe reprimand, and acquaint him that a like conduct will meet with a severer punishment." Ironically enough, the Directors spared the Madras Government from the humiliation of accepting Macpherson's services and allowed him to stay on in England, with a view to save him, as it were, "from the humiliations of such a menace."

Macpherson was thus restored to his former official rank and emoluments in the Company's Service, but stayed in England till 1781, when he was appointed to the high office of Member of the Supreme Council of Bengal. During these years Macpherson remained in the Metropolis enjoying the privilege of high company like that of Premier North and Count Maltzen, the Prussian Ambassador.

III

On his way to Calcutta as Member of the Council he arrived at Madras in October, 1781, "with secret instructions from the Premier, Lord North, to endeavour by every exertion in his power, and even if necessary, by considerable sacrifices, to terminate the Mahratta War," in the language of Sir William Wraxall [writing in Part II (1781—84) of his *Historical Memories of My Own Time*, published in 1815]. Wraxall thus observed: "In compliance with those directions, on his arrival at Madras in October, 1781, without waiting to consult Hastings, who was then at a distance from Calcutta; Mr. Macpherson, together with Lord Macartney, Sir Edward Hughes, and the Nabob of Arcot, Mohommed Ally, acting together in concert, addressed letters jointly to the Peshwah, at Poonah, expressing to him, in the name of the Sovereign and Ministry of England, their sincere and ardent inclination to Peace. It followed in a very short space of time and flowed immediately from this source." We have the following information from the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* Vol. VI (1781—85) (Letter 447). From the Nawab of Arcot's letter to the Governor-General (received on the 10th April, 1782), we learn that he had already communicated to him copies and translations of the correspondence that passed between Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, General Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Edward Hughes and John Macpherson on the one hand and the Peshwah on the other and the Nawab gave assurance that he was keeping up the correspondence with the Mahrattas solely with a view to persuading them to make peace with the English and have confidence in the Governor-General.

We also learn that individual letters were despatched by these four persons to Poonah.

After Macpherson joined the Bengal Council, approval of the Crown to his appointment having been easily given without any objection, the Select Committee to the House of Commons instituted an enquiry into the facts of

the case, and examined the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the Directors; but the latter remained dumb when questioned as to the real motives that led to their making this appointment. This inquiry unfruitful as it was, led to Macpherson vindicating his own conduct and writing a defence, dated 30th March, 1783. He defended himself by saying that his early transactions on behalf of the Nawab of Arcot were fully made known when he entered the Company's Service; and that he had never presented any memorial on his services to the Nawab, but what had been approved by the Governor. This defence was ironically commented upon by James Mill thus: "The first part of the apology was Macpherson's own affirmation of what passed between himself and a dead man, and not that such conduct was innocent."

IV

When Macpherson, by the sheer operation of the rule of seniority in the Council, occupied the Governor-Generalship, on the departure of Warren Hastings, *interim*, from February 1785 to September 1786, he seems to have achieved some success in the administration of finance. But most of the historians like Mill, Thornton, Beveridge and others have been hostile or neutral to his administration at the best. Mill says that the relaxed habits of the Indian Service induced, among other factors, Macpherson to use loose language exaggerating the difficulties of the situation in which he found himself; and consequently overrating his achievement. Mill's continuator, Wilson, would however credit him with eminent success for which evidently he got a Baronetcy and official appreciation in his endeavours to reduce public expenditure and re-establish public credit. Indeed, Macpherson readily assumed responsibility for the debts of the other Presidencies, discharged the arrears of salaries of the Civil and Uncovenanted servants, forbade the issue of paper on account of the Company and secured that all the paper in currency should be paid off in cash within twelve months. Indeed, according to a contemporary observation on the last measure, "the Treasury Certificates could raise cash in the market at a discount less than the legal interest of the money." In his memorial to the Court of Directors, relative to his claims as Governor-General of Bengal made nearly twenty years after his retirement from India, he appealed thus: "In 1785, when all your armies were upwards of two millions sterling in arrears, and when bills on Europe could not raise a supply, the Government of France was no sooner apprised of our distress, than they renewed their plans of hostility against India. But, when the Governor-General of Mauritius found that extraordinary reforms had taken place in Bengal, and that the military arrears of all your Presidencies were in an effectual train of liquidation, he concluded the Pacific Convention of Mauritius in April, 1786: that convention, which was acknowledged by Lord Auckland to have aided him, in the commercial Treaty with France."

He further asserted that he effected retrenchment to the tune of nearly two and a quarter lakh of rupees annually in the Governor-General's Office, and

he claimed special credit for not paying himself as he might have easily done, the arrears of his own salary of which Rs. 183,000 were due to him on the 1st of February, 1786. Further he added: "Yet it rested with me to have paid myself monthly. I might likewise have laid out my salary at 12 per cent. monthly; or I might have purchased Company's paper at an immense discount." Besides refraining from recovering the alleged arrears of his own salary, Macpherson protested that he did not, as he could easily have done, obtain payment of the large debt due to him from the Nawab of Arcot at any time, during his stay in India in positions of power between August 1781 and February 1787. He thus asserted: "In 1871, I protested against receiving a rupee of my own debt from His Highness, while I pressed him to resign his Dominions over to the Company's Government; a measure to which he acceded and which enabled us to expel Hyder from the Carnatic. In 1787, I equally declared that I would not receive the reimbursement of my just debt, so long as I continued to receive a salary from the Company; though at that very time I assisted at, and urged, the completion of the treaty, by which His Highness agreed to pay annually to the East India Company the sum of 21 lacs of pagodas; a sum larger by £200,000 a year than that afterwards fixed by Lord Cornwallis's treaty with the Nabob. These sacrifices of my fortune need no comment, and will plead more forcibly than any arguments, in the minds of well informed, just, and liberal men." These facts, he asserted, should "prove my invariable regard to the great interests of the State, and the Company, was not only paramount to every other consideration in my mind, but capable of inducing me to sacrifice to it all views of a private, or of an interested nature."

But it should be noted that Macpherson gave no relief to the Nabob Vizier of Oudh, "from motives of delicacy to the late Governor-General and his arrangements in the upper provinces."

V

Macpherson also laid claim to the Governor-Generalship, being, and continuing to be, vested in him, even after Cornwallis was appointed to supersede him. He argued that when Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta in September, 1786 to assume office, *his commission was vitally defective*. The Act of Parliament, Macpherson held, which was meant to legalise the commission, and which was passed in haste after Cornwallis had embarked for India, was defective because it did not take the precaution to abrogate specifically the original commission of Macpherson given under the Sign Manual. As this was not done, he contended that the commission issued to Cornwallis was not legal and therefore invalid. Thus Macpherson pleaded in his petition: "I perfectly knew, and pointed out this defect, at the time; nor can it be disputed now, that the defect ~~in~~ *in* question invalidated Lord Cornwallis's Commission. I might in fact have resisted legally and safely his assumption of the Government-General. But, I acted otherwise, and allowed him to take possession of the chair."

As if to add stress to his self-restraint, Macpherson continued in his memorial as follows: "In making, however, this voluntary surrender of my office to considerations of a public nature, I did not, and I could not, lose the right to the salary of the office, legally assessed by an Act of Parliament on the territorial revenues of India; from which office I was never legally removed, and which I had never resigned. I stated these facts to His Majesty's Ministers, after my return to England; as I had previously done, at the time when I allowed Lord Cornwallis to assume the Government General of Bengal. My legal rights to the *appointments* (*sic*) of Governor-General of Bengal, could in fact only cease, when I resigned the Company's Service, on the 11th February 1789. It is impossible that this point should not excite attention; since it is evident that I have legal claims to a greater sum from the Company, than I am now anxious to receive at their hands, as an act of their liberal justice."

Macpherson denied having received any remuneration or indemnification from the Company, "except the arrears of my salary as a Member of the Supreme Council of Bengal, "an office which I had never resigned, and the duties of which, my state of health compelled me to suspend, when I left Bengal down, to the period when that office was filled up in India." He added that he had indeed received an offer of annuity of £2,000 per annum with arrears of salary as Member of the Supreme Council, offered to him by the Ministry through the late Sir William Pulteney, and that the offer had been officially suggested by Mr. Dundas, then President of the Board of Control to the Chairman of the Company, in a letter dated 26th January, 1789, a copy of which he had in his possession.

Macpherson wrote a letter to Cornwallis dated 9th March 1789. (Col. Ross, *Correspondence of Cornwallis*, Vol. I, pages 429-430). Cornwallis wrote to Dundas from Calcutta a long rejoinder, dated 8th August 1789, in which he freely expressed himself about his predecessor. "Macpherson seems to expect that you are to give him a pension, besides all the ill-earned money that he has got under the head of pay and presents. His flimsy cunning and shameless falsehoods seem to have taken in all parties; believe me that those who trusted the most in him will be the most deceived. He tells me in a letter that I received from him lately that the field is as open to him as to any other person, to be my successor in this Government. On this I cannot help saying, that, as I must always take an interest about the future prosperity of this country, I hardly know any public event which is possible to happen that would give me more concern than I should feel at his ideas being realised nor any measure respecting India that in my opinion would tend more in its consequences to vex and discredit both you and Mr. Pitt. You may be assured that under his management a relaxation of authority in Government, and a system of mean jobbing and speculation, would immediately take place."

It may be remarked that Macpherson's resignation of office of Member of Council in 1789, was nothing more than a legal farce or fraud, for, when he left

India in 1786 he should be held to have legally resigned his appointment, and to have gone out of service from the date of his leaving the Indian shores. But he cunningly endeavoured to overcome this provision by pretending to sail only for the Cape of Good Hope for the sake of health, instead of to Europe direct. All his attempts to prove the illegality of Cornwallis's appointment and the continuing validity of his own commission as Governor-General, failed and were rejected both by the Board and by the Court. In 1788 his election to Parliament for Crickdale was declared void on account of his heavy bribing, and he avoided numerous actions brought against him only by going abroad. He was also fined for the offence of bribery which, in the opinion of the Directors, incapacitated him from being a Justice of the Peace and should also evidently argue against his claims to the continuance of Membership of the Supreme Council.

Macpherson continued to hold tenaciously to his claim, supported as he said, by "Law Opinions of high authority, relative to the illegality of my super-session," that he was entitled to the difference between the legal salary of the Governor-General's office and that salary which he received as Member of the Supreme Council from the date of Cornwallis's accession, (12th September 1786) to the day when he resigned formally his Membership of the Council (11th February 1789)—(Page 6 of Appeal to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company from Sir John Macpherson, Bart, relative to his claims as Governor-General of Bengal." Dated Brompton, 27th March 1806.)

But the other side of the picture is that Macpherson could be accused of having prostituted at any time the real political interests of the Company to the Nabob of the Carnatic and he acquitted himself creditably in economising in the public administration during his Governor-Generalship. But Cornwallis who had been personally offended at a rumour that Macpherson had circulated respecting him, vigorously protested that "all his pretensions to economy except in the reduction of salaries was a scene of delusion." Cornwallis wrote further, most bitterly, "That the former (Sir John Macpherson) does not return to India. is indeed a fortunate event; but his being officially permitted to return, and his having been within a few days of embarking has had an effect not easily to be removed. What must the people of this country, either Europeans or Natives, imagine? They have seen that our measures have been as widely different as, I trust, they believe our dispositions and characters to beWhy does Mr. Dundas let him return? Why does he not tell him, when he talks of grievances and pensions that he may think himself well off that he is not impeached?—that he was guilty of a breach of an Act of Parliament in the offer which he made of aid to the Poonah Government, and that he was guilty of basely degrading the national character by the quibbles and lies which he made use of to evade the performance of it,—that his Government was a system of the Dirtiest jobbing?"

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN MADRAS IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

By B. S. Baliga

The first time the British Government turned their attention to the educational conditions in Madras with a view to improving them was in 1822. Munro, who was then the Governor, started a province-wide enquiry¹ which threw a flood of light on the existing state of indigenous education. It revealed that in all districts, except Kanara, indigenous schools ('pial' schools) and even colleges ('tols') existed, but nowhere in a flourishing condition.² And this was not surprising. With no industries worth the name, with a languishing cotton manufacture, with low prices and high taxes, the country had, in fact, then become very much impoverished. It was reported that "the greater part of the middling and lower classes of the people are now unable to defray the expenses incident upon the education of their offspring, while their necessities require the assistance of their children as soon as their tender limbs are capable of the smallest labour".³ Moreover, the landed endowments made to the schools by the past rulers had been misappropriated while no fresh endowments had been made to them by the present rulers.⁴

No better picture of indigenous education of those days can be found anywhere than in the report of Mr. A. D. Campbell, the Collector of Bellary. He stated that reading, writing and arithmetic formed the essentials of elementary education in every school. He admired the economy with which instruction was imparted and the monitorial system by which more than one class was managed by a teacher. But he complained that the teachers were generally inefficient, that the language of the books taught in the class-rooms was distinct from the language spoken outside, that education, to this extent, was totally divorced from practical life. "Few teachers" he remarked, "can explain and still fewer scholars understand the purport of the numerous books which they thus learn to repeat from memory. Every school-boy can repeat, verbatim a vast number of verses the meaning of which he knows no more than the parrot that has been taught to utter certain words". And again: "It is not to be wondered at with such an education that, in writing a common letter

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¹ Revenue Consultations 1822, Volume No. 277, page 1771 sqq.

² Board's Consultations 1825, Volume No. 1011, page 1412 sqq., and Board's Consultations 1822, Volume No. 924, page 8425 sqq.

³ Revenue Consultations 1826, Volume No. 314, pages 853-54.

⁴ Board's Consultations 1825, Volume No. 1011, Consultations dated 21st February 1825, paragraphs 5-6.

to friends, orthographical errors or other violations of grammar may be met with in almost every line written by a native''⁵

All this doubtless shows that elementary education imparted in the 'pial' schools was far from satisfactory. But this can by no means be construed to imply that such an education failed to produce literates or produced only unpractical men. A knowledge of the alphabet was the first thing that a pupil learnt in a 'pial' school. He was taught writing on the sand and on the cadjans. He was made to read popular versions of religious books and light literature, such as the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Bhagavata and the Panchatantra. He was instructed to decipher up-country letters and to draw up ordinary legal documents, deeds, etc., which played no small part in the village transactions. He, it may also be observed, usually remained in school for five years, from the age of five to the age of ten, and sometimes for a longer period, till the age of fifteen, or till he could take to some useful avocation.⁶

It should not be forgotten that besides these elementary schools there were a fairly good number of 'tols' or colleges which taught law, logic, astronomy and the Vedas.⁷ In these the standard is nowhere stated to be contemptible. In these, it would seem, learning was pursued for its own sake. In the 'pial' schools the teaching was not usually free: the pupils paid fees ranging from an anna to four rupees per mensem to the teacher, in addition to certain indulgences and allowances.⁸ In the Sanskrit 'tols' education was often entirely gratuitous and the teacher often received nothing but the satisfaction of having imparted knowledge to his disciples.⁹ In the 'pial' schools there were rarely any pupils who studied after the age of fifteen; but in the 'tols' were to be found scholars quite advanced in years.¹⁰ These 'tols' cannot, indeed, be compared to the colleges of the present day; the subjects taught in the former were different from the subjects taught in the latter. But, in the matter of giving intellectual training, there is not the least reason to suppose that the one was really inferior to the other.

The statistics collected in 1826 revealed that there were then 12,498 schools and colleges for a population of 12,850,941; i.e., roughly one school for every 1000 of the population. The number of persons receiving instruction in these

⁵ Campbell's Report, paragraph 14 in Board's Consultations 1823, Volume No. 958, page 7167 sqq.

⁶ Campbell's Report, paragraphs 9-13, Board's Consultations 1823, Volume No. 936, page 984 sqq., Revenue Consultations 1826, Volume No. 314, page 850 sqq.

⁷ Revenue Consultations 1825, Volume No. 310, Consultations dated 30th September 1825—see statement—Campbell's Report—paragraphs 20-21.

⁸ Board's Consultations 1822, Volume No. 932, page 10939. Revenue Consultations 1826, Volume No. 314, pages 856-57.

⁹ Campbell's Report, paragraph 20; Revenue Consultations 1825, Volume No. 314, page 854, Board's Consultations 1823, Volume No. 854, page 5904.

¹⁰ Board's Consultations 1822, Volume No. 932, page 10939.

institutions was found to be 1,88,650 or 1 in 67.¹¹ Of this number, the great majority were males, only about 4,500 being females belonging mostly to the dancing girl's community.¹² Now, reckoning the male population roughly at 6,425,000, i.e., at half the total population, and reckoning also the males between the ages of five and ten years (when boys generally remained at school) at one-ninth of the total male population, Munro calculated that the boys of the schoolgoing age might be taken at 713,000. But the number of boys actually attending the school was only 184,110 or little more than one-fourth of 713,000. To this number had to be added those taught at home, and, since in Madras city alone they amounted to 26,963 or about five times greater than the number taught in the schools there, Munro was inclined to think that the proportion of the males receiving instruction was nearer one-third than one-fourth of the total male population; and this shows that 29 males in every 1,000 males were receiving education in 1826.¹³ This is no mean proportion; and this proportion, in spite of various efforts made to open more schools and colleges, was not reached till 1877. The causes of this seem to have been the general agricultural and economic depression in the country. Low prices ruled till about 1855, and high assessments were lowered only in 1855-1890. Then also came the severe drought of 1865-1866 all along the East Coast, followed by the great famine of 1876-1878 which stalked about large parts of the whole province.

To go back to Munro's times; Munro, when he made the educational enquiry, intended to encourage and not to discourage the indigenous schools. He wanted to support and not to supplant them. He observed: "It is not my intention to recommend any interference in the native schools. Everything of this kind ought to be carefully avoided and the people should be left to manage their schools in their own way".¹⁴ Again: "All that one ought to do is to facilitate the operation of these schools by restoring any funds that may have been diverted from them, and perhaps granting additional ones where it may appear advisable".¹⁵ But he soon found that it was not possible to give adequate aid to these institutions firstly because Parliament had

¹¹ Revenue Consultations 1825, Volume No. 310, Consultations No. 1, dated 30th September 1825; Revenue Consultations 1826, Volume No. 314, Consultations Nos. 1-5, dated 10th March 1826, *see* statement.

¹² Board's Consultations 1822, Volume No. 928, page 9935; Board's Consultations 1822, Volume No. 932, page 10939; Board's Consultations 1823, Volume No. 936, page 984; Board's Consultations 1823, Volume No. 942, page 2402.

¹³ Board's Consultations 1822, Volume No. 928, page 9936.

Board's Consultations 1822, Volume No. 932, page 10939.

Board's Consultations 1823, Volume 936, page 984.

Board's Consultations 1823, Volume No. 942, page 2402.

¹⁴ Revenue Consultations 1822, Volume No. 277; Munro's Minute, dated 25th June 1822, paragraph 3.

¹⁵ *Idem*.

set apart only a lakh of rupees for educational reforms for the whole of India,¹⁶ and secondly because any attempt to revive the lost endowments made by the former rulers was bound to raise a hue and cry against the Government.

Munro and his colleagues therefore hit upon a plan by which a few Government schools could be opened designed not only to impart proper instruction but also to serve as models to the existing indigenous schools. They made a grant to the School Book Society recently founded in Madras for translating good books into Indian languages and proposed to set up Collectorate and Tahsildarry schools in the whole province. In every Collectorate there were to be two Collectorate schools, one for the Hindus and one for the Muslims under one or more teachers. In every Tahsildarry there was to be a Tahsildarry school under a competent teacher. Teachers for the Collectorate schools were to be selected by the Collectors and trained in a Central School at Madras. Teachers for the Tahsildarry schools were to be nominated by the respectable men of the locality and appointed by the Collectors. The former were to be paid Rs. 15 and the latter Rs. 9 per mensem. Both were to be at liberty to give private tuition to any of their pupils and to receive fees in return, in addition to their salary.¹⁷ In the Collectorate schools English was to be taught, but it was to be taught only as one of the languages along with the language of the district. In the Tahsildarry schools, on the other hand, the entire teaching was to be conducted in the Indian languages and English was not to be taught at all.¹⁸ We have not the full curricula designed for these schools, but we have nothing to suggest that it was intended to teach in these schools subjects which were quite different from those taught in the 'pial' schools. To superintend the establishment of these schools, to prescribe books and to advise in what manner education might be improved, the Government at the same time, appointed a Committee of Public Instruction.¹⁹

But the scheme proved a complete failure. The teachers sent out from the Collectorates for training to the Central School at Madras showed not the least aptitude for their studies. They were described as the "refuse of the expectants on the Collector's list" and indeed, they could hardly have been otherwise, since for the slender pay of Rs. 15 offered them no respectable Indian who had any chances of being employed in other more lucrative posts under the Government could be expected to take up the job of a teacher. Nor was this all. To the ignorant and the indigent teacher-candidate the prospect of completing his studies was by no means so tempting as to spur him on to exertions. For, whether he qualified himself as a teacher or not, he received his salary of Rs. 15. This circumstance put a premium on idleness and it is this, which more than anything else, accounts for the failure of the teacher-

¹⁶ Act III, George III, Chapter 155, section 43.

¹⁷ Revenue Consultations 1826, Volume No. 314, Consultations Nos. 1-5, dated 10th March 1826: Munro's Minute, paragraphs 5-7 and Government Order, paragraph 11.

¹⁸ Public Despatch from England, dated 5th February 1834, paragraph 4.

¹⁹ Revenue Consultations 1826, Volume No. 314, Consultation Nos. 1-5, dated 10th March 1826.

candidates to reach the standard of proficiency, even so late as 1834.²⁰ By that time new policies began to appear and the result was that, the scheme of the Collectorate schools only remained on paper. Not a single Collectorate school seems to have been established in any district.

The Tahsildarry schools, however, were gradually established: there were 70 of them in 1834.²¹ But their condition proved to be quite unsatisfactory. The very mode in which the teachers of these schools were selected sealed their doom. Local men of influence could not generally be expected to select candidates strictly according to merit and ability; and the Collectors found them "inferior, on the whole, to the common village master". Moreover, the Board of Instruction having directed that the schools should be open to all classes, "the higher orders of society", we are told, "evinced a natural repugnance" to send their children to them. It would appear that these schools were popular only among the poorer classes and that was because they offered gratuitous instruction.²²

Meanwhile the Court of Directors began to thoroughly distrust these schools and propounded what is called the filtration theory of education. According to this theory the best results can be obtained only by educating the higher classes in the first instance and leaving it to them to create a desire for education among the masses. In September 1830, the Directors wrote: "The improvements in education, however, to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of the people are those which concern the education of the higher classes, of the persons possessing leisure and influence over the minds of their countrymen. By raising the standard of instruction among these classes you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class". They directed that "the higher orders" ought to be given instruction in English language and European literature and science and thus trained to become fit persons for taking a larger share and occupying a higher station in the civil administration of the country.²³ Then came the Anglo-Vernacular controversy, a controversy as to whether English or Indian languages should be given prominence in the scheme of education. It reached its climax in the famous minute of Lord Macaulay dated 2nd February 1835 and the equally famous Resolution of Lord William Bentick dated 7th March 1835.²⁴ The Resolution pronounced that the "great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science", and that all funds appropriated for

²⁰ Letter from the Board of Public Instruction, dated 6th December 1834, paragraphs 6-8, in Papers Relating to Public Instruction, page LVI.

²¹ Letter from the Board of Public Instruction, dated 6th December 1834, paragraph 3 in Papers Relating to Public Instruction, page LVI.

²² Letter from the Board of Public Instruction, dated 6th December 1834, paragraph 5 in Papers Relating to Public Instruction, page LVI.

²³ Public Despatch from England, dated 29th September 1830, paragraphs 5-7.

²⁴ Sharp—Selections—Part I, pages 107-117 and 130-131.

the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone. But, it must be stated that, it left untouched all indigenous institutions, observing specifically that "it is not the intention . . . to abolish any college or school of native learning which the native population" wished to encourage. And this aspect of the Resolution was specially stressed by Lord Auckland in his minute dated 24th November 1839.²⁵ The result of all this in Madras was the immediate abandonment of the scheme of Tahsildarry and Collectorate schools (1836) and the establishment of a Central College (Presidency College), at Madras and Provincial Schools in the districts for imparting English education.²⁶ The Central College soon became the nucleus of the Madras University, while the Provincial Schools gradually developed themselves into the various Government Colleges.

²⁵ Sharp—Selections—Part I, pages 147-170.

²⁶ Letter from the Government of India, dated 15th July 1835, paragraph 2, Minutes of Consultations, dated 18th May 1836, paragraphs 21 and 22, Lord Elphinstone's Minute, dated 12th December 1839.

TWO NEW DOCUMENTS ON THE BATTLE OF SAKHARKHEDLE (1724 A.D.)

By G. H. Khare

In the month of March 1948, when I was on tour in search of old records and other antiquarian remains and objects at Nasik, I had the chance of seeing Mr. Baburao Raoji Deshmukh, B.A., LL.B., who belongs to the Deshmukh family of Sinnar (a toluqa town in the Nasik district). Some six years ago when I had been to Kopargaon and its adjacent villages in this same connection, I had learnt that this gentleman possessed some old records; but when I visited Sinnar itself at that time, I could not see him there though I examined some five bags of old records from another Deshmukh family of that place, selected about a hundred mostly Marathi documents for further study and brought them to my society. This time I met the above gentleman who not only showed all the *daftars* of old documents he had with him, but very readily lent to me over a hundred mostly Persian documents for further study.

On going through these documents I found that almost all of them refer to one Kuvar Bahadur, who was this gentleman's ancestor of the seventh foregoing generation, his successor Fathsingh and some of his family members. We do not know when this Kuvar Bahadur began his career exactly; but before 1730 A.D. he seems to have sided with Asaf Jah, the first Nizam or his subordinates.¹ In that year he received robes of honour from Bajirao I, the second Peshwa.² Still he seems to have been siding with the party refractory to the Peshwa; for in the battle of Dabhoi fought on 1st April 1731 A.D., he fought against Bajirao I; but took to heels after receiving wounds.³ However after this incident he gradually turned over to the Peshwa's side and by 3rd May 1736 A.D., the date of his demise he was practically reckoned as included in the Peshwa's fold.⁴

Among the documents referred to above there is a long Marathi letter of about 150 lines, written in Modi script and covering four foolscap pages.

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¹ Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. X, Nos. 40, 46.

² *Ibid*, Vol. XXII, No. 51.

³ *Ibid*, Vol. XII, No. 46; *Brahmendravravi Dhavadshikar* by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. No. 26.

⁴ Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vol. XII, No. 50; Vol. III, No. 187; Vol. X, No. 98; Vol. XXX, No. 165.

Like many other Marathi documents it lacks in the full details of the date as it records only the day and the month, the 3rd of Zi-ul-qada, but the context shows that it should be assigned to the year 1724 and its exact date works out to 13th July 1724 A.D. Names of both the writer and the addressee are nowhere mentioned; but the addressee must be nobody else than Kuvar Bahadur himself and the writer seems to be his representative at Delhi, as is evident from the mode of writing and some references in the despatch itself. It gives a lot of details of happenings at Delhi in the first half of that year. Each and every detail cannot of course be a new iota of information; but on the whole it presents a vivid picture of the circumstances at Delhi in that period and it will not, therefore, be out of place to summarise it here.

A number of days have elapsed since you have written nothing to me. It may perhaps be due to the transfer of the administrator (of the Dekkan). I have been writing to you about it for the last six months. Even at present I write to you twice a month; but I know not whether you get the letters. The news here can be summed up thus: The Nizam out of dissatisfaction took leave of the emperor under the guise of hunting and proceeded off till Gadhmukteshvara to the side of Muradabad. From here he requested the emperor that if ordered he would proceed to Malwa and punish Dost Muhammad (an ancestor of the Nawabs of Bhopal) and other refractories. The *subahdari* of the Dekkan and its deputyship had already been bestowed on the prince⁵ and Mubarizkhan respectively when he was here. Now he was ordered to go to Malwa and punish the rebels. He started immediately and by stages reaching Malwa fell upon Dost Muhammad. After entering into an agreement with him, he went to Ujjain; but from thence without the permission of the emperor forded the Narmada and prepared himself for fighting with Mubarizkhan. For this high-handedness he fell into complete imperial disfavour, his *jagirs* in the North, the revenue of which amounted to twenty-five crores of *dams* or the realisation from which was fifty lakhs of rupees were confiscated and given to the prince with a *mansab* of twenty thousand horse and fifteen thousand horse personal. Inayatullah was made Diwan, Hamid-ud-dinkhan Mir Bakshi, Rajan Kirparam Wakil and Khan-i-Saman Tan-Bakshi (?). Originally the *vizarat* and its deputyship were intended to be bestowed upon the prince and Inayatullah. Ghazi-ud-dinkhan, the son of the Nizam-ul-mulk and Bakhtmandkhan were summoned before His Majesty's presence and ordered to proceed to their father, upon which they replied, that His Majesty very well knew whether in their family there ever existed any harmony between a father and his son: that they were His Majesty's servants and as such would do whatever ordered without hesitation; that they had no relations with their father; that the proverbial phrase 'the father will accrue for what he does and the son for his own doings' (*Bap kare bap pave beta kare beta pave*) was very well known. Owing to these replies and the assurance by Qamr-ud-dinkhan they were permitted to go home; but the seal and the standish were brought back and endorsements by them were prohibited. On the 2nd of Zi-ul-qada

⁵ Name : Shaharyarshah (later Mughals, Vol. II, p. 137).

(12-7-1724 A.D.) Qamr-ud-dinkhan was favoured with the robe of premier-ship. All the Mughal nobles with the emperor and the Nawab (Nizam, 'Asaf Jah I) were left alone. They unanimously resolved that they would imprison him alive if Mubarizkhan would fail to control him. Sarbulandkhan was favoured with the *subahdari* of Gujrat and the deputyship was bestowed upon Shujat Ali who was already there and who had a strong force with him. He has even begun his administration. Hamidkhan left the headquarters; but is being pressed by the soldiery for their dues. He has been recalled to His Majesty's presence. His pleader was trying for a deputyship for him; but was answered in the negative. Malwa was bestowed upon Girdhar Bahadur to which effect a *farman* and a robe were also sent. Qamr-ud-dinkhan intimated Azimullakhan and a *farman* of recall to His Majesty's presence was sent to him. A new *diwan* was appointed for Malwa as the old one accompanied the Nawab (Nizam). Qutb-ud-dinkhan, Mir Ahmad Khan and Khizr Khan received the appointments of Mandu, Sironj-Bhilsa and Gwalior-Nawar respectively with an increase of a thousand horse in the *mansab* and cash of twenty thousand rupees. Marhamatkhan was favoured with the *subahdari* of Patna. Sarbulandkhan was granted a cash of five lakhs. As the Nawab of the Karnatak refused to fight with Mubarizkhan, a *farman*, a robe and jewels were presented to him and his representative was assured of safety. Either a *farman* or an order was sent to Mubarizkhan and every imperial servant according to his position as well as to the Rajput chiefs and the representatives as well. But in the meanwhile the prince died on the 26th of Shawwal (7-7-1724 A.D.) wherefore the same moment the *subahdari* of the Dekkan was given to Mubarizkhan. A *farman* was prepared and handed over to Inayatullahkhan with the instruction that both the news of the prince's demise and the *farman* must reach Mubarizkhan at one and the same time. All the affairs of the Dekkan are withheld and the suggestions of the Nizam have been disapproved. A general order has been issued that those who would help Mubarizkhan and bring his autograph to that effect will be confirmed in their *jagirs*, *mansabs* and services, but the *mansabs* and the *jagirs* of the refractories will be confiscated. The happenings here are of this nature. The circumstances there you know yourself. You wrote nothing that I may know them. A new *farman* has been issued in your name informing you about the appointment of Mubarizkhan on the *subahdari* of the Dekkan instead of the old one intimating of his deputyship, and asking you to help him.⁶ In case the Nizam and Mubarizkhan fight together you should at the very moment send a very fast and express courier at the cost of a hundred or two hundred rupees, who will arrive here on the tenth day. It will pay you if your despatch reaches here first. It matters little if either of them succeeds or they come to terms

⁶ I omit here personal details regarding Kuvar Bahadur, his relations and other non-historical individuals.

The result of this contest and the part the Marathas took in it are too well known to detail upon them here; but in the Peshwa *daftar* housed in the Alienation Office, Poona there is an unpublished document in Persian written by Shripatrao Parashuram Pandit Pratinidhi on behalf of Chhatrapati Shahu and addressed to the Mughal emperor in which he, after bringing to the latter's notice how the Marathas helped Mubarizkhan in the battle against the Nizam, regrets that in spite of all that, matters went against and assures that in future at the cost of life, every attempt will be made to help the new appointee in Mubarizkhan's stead.⁷ The document itself is undated and the envelope which might have borne the date of receipt is missing; but it must be placed immediately after the battle of Sakharkhedle or Fathkhada fought between the Nizam and Mubarizkhan on 30-9-1724 A.D.⁸ and which has been referred to in the former document also.

⁷ I have numbered my copy of the document as 137/12, the former number denoting a *daftar* of Persian documents from the Peshwa Daftar numbered 137 arbitrarily and the latter indicating the number of the document copied serially by me.

⁸ Later Mughals, Vol II, p. 145. Here the date is in the new style.

A FEW FRAGMENTS OF THE MAHIM BAKHAR.

By T. S. Shejwalkar

The late Mr. V. K. Rajwade published a Bakhar of Mahim or Mahikavati in 1924, which first shed a new light on the pre-Muslim history of North Konkan. Rajwade had edited that Bakhar from one bound book wherein various separate pieces, some in verse and the rest in prose, had been copied down from different sources. The bound volume had been copied in 1819 and he was unaware of any other copy of the same. Copies of a few pieces published in Rajwade's book have been now found in a different locality. Rajwade's copy had come from Bassein, while the fragments in my hand come from the Adhikari family of Chaul in the Kolaba District. These fragments have been indifferently copied in a stitched *pothi* by some member of the Adhikari family, perhaps a hundred and fifty years ago, to judge from the manuscript. These fragments do not add materially to the information found in Rajwade's book though their text is in some places different from that in Rajwade's copy. In some places the information is summarised to shorten the narrative, in others it is slightly different and detailed. But this manuscript proves that these pieces were cherished as the family and caste history by members of the Somavamsi Pathare community, otherwise known in Maharashtra as Panch-Kalashis, as well as by the members of the Sheshvamsi Bhandari community of the Thana District. In fact, it contains the history of the colonisation of North Konkan by some outside communities coming from different regions, viz. Gujarat, Malwa and Maharashtra proper, due to the advent of the Muhammadans, but before the actual conquest of these regions by them. Incidentally, it also throws light on previous history. These fragments are corresponding to the pages 38-50 and 61-64 of Rajwade's Bakhar. As the copyist was living far away from the scene of actions contained in this Bakhar, he had no interest in the history of the local squabbles or family feuds described in the Bakhar, which explains the omission of some portions and the shortening of others. Similarly it does not contain the episode connected with the revival of Hindu Dharma by Nayako Rao Desala of Malad and his adviser priest Keshavacharya, who are made the heroes and the central figures of the piece by Rajwade in his introduction, nor the long list of villages with their revenues and their occupants, as they belong to the Salsette area, and not the Chaul-Ashtagar area where the copyist was living. If a guess can be hazarded, it seems as if the Panchkalashi community of Chaul-Ashtagar had migrated to that area from their original colony in Sashti island in the regime

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of Nagarsha, who had extended his kingdom to this region also. Thus the community of Panchkalashis was divided into two localities which had separate growths, though their intercourse did not completely stop. Later on, these regions came under one rule of Gujarat Sultans and the Portuguese for a considerable time, with the result that the intercourse between the two regions was revived to a greater extent via the sea-route. As our fragments do not contain any reference to the Portuguese, the originals of the same must have been written sometime in the fifteenth century. As the copy is written in Devanagari and not in Modi, it shows that these pieces were treated as semi religious holy heir-loom, a form of the modern Puranas in prose. This was the form in which the Hindus tried to remember old events and is thus the only source of their history. Though the present versions contain a few Persian or Arabic words introduced by the Muslims, the whole outlook of these pieces as well as the manner of their writing is thoroughly Hindu. They contain many obsolete words and phrases. The Hindu society and the Hindu courts are well reflected in these accounts. Their model is not that of the muslim Tarikhs after which the Marathi Bakhars from the 17th century onwards were written. They are precious mines which are to be worked patiently by the students of the Marathi language, society and history. I believe that an intensive search in the old families of the various communities mentioned in the Mahikavati Bakhar may yield similar fragments in various localities, to judge from our find, after which only the final form of these writings could be decided. Some events and traditions in these fragments I have connected and compared with other literary references, especially in the contemporary Mahanubhava literature, as well as in copper-plate grants. Such studies of the various localities of Maharashtra are likely to yield a precious harvest which may throw a flood of light on the history of medieval times. I have to thank Mr. S. V. Avalaskar of Alibag for placing the *pothi* of these fragments in my hand for study and comparison.

A DEED OF CONVEYANCE 375 YEARS OLD

Mr. B. W. Bhat

Since the establishment of the Indian Historical Records Commission, old historical documents of varied nature have been brought to the notice of the historical researchers. So far old deeds of conveyance of immoveable property have not been found by any historical researcher and brought to the notice of Commission.

Recently the Rájwáde Samshodhan Mandal has been fortunate in securing old historical documents of the times of Emperor Akbar and his successors belonging to the Kánungo Desái family of Nandurbár in the West Khándesh District of the Bombay Presidency. This family was wealthy and wielded great influence in former times. One Shioldás and his son Shambhudás were the contemporaries of Chhatrapati Shiváji and his son Sambháji. One Hari Kavi *alias* Bhánubhat a learned Sanskrit Pandit from Surat wrote a poem called 'Shambhu Raj Charit' describing the marriage of Shambhu with Champá a daughter of Tápidás a wealthy banker of Surat. This poetical work was edited and published in about 1900 A. D. by Mr. Von Schlscherbastskoi. Mr P. K. Gode of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute identified Shiva and Shambhu of this poem with Chhatrapati Shiváji and his son Sambháji. This identification ultimately has proved to be unfounded and they appear to be none other than those belonging to this family.

The present head of this family has got in his possession the old and important historical documents of his ancestors and he has been pleased to afford facility to the Rájwade Mandal to take copies of Maráthi and Persian original historical documents.

These documents contain a sale deed executed 375 years ago of immovable property situated at Ahmedábád in the province of Gujarát.

This document is a unique one and I propose to draw the attention of historical researchers to some of its important features.

The document is written not on a piece of paper but on a thick piece of smooth cloth specially prepared for such documents, according to the practice which seems to be then prevailing in India. Instances are not wanting of poetical and philosophical works written on cloth. Dássopant was one of the celebrated saints and poets of Máhárastra. A treatise composed by him called 'Panchikaran' is written on a large piece of cloth and this piece of cloth is called 'Panchikaran Pásodi' which to this day has been preserved and is in the possession of his descendants who are the Deshpánde family of Láttur in the Nizam's territory.

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The practice of writing documents on a piece of cloth prevailed in India from the times of Yádnyavalkya Smṛiti. In Shlok 319 of Chapter I of Yádnyavalkya Smṛiti the mode of preparing a deed of gift is prescribed as follows :—

“ writing on a canvas (made of cloth) or on a copper plate, (the names) of his own family (three generations upwards from his father) their own (*i.e*) his own name and that of the executant) the quantity of the gift the four boundary lines of the land, and marking it with his own seal, his own signature and with the date (of the gift) the King should make the deed permanently valid, ” (319—320)

This method seems to have been followed because of the scarcity of paper and its frail character. During the times of Emperor Akbar paper was in common use in India. But for the reasons just stated it seems the old practice of writing documents on pieces of cloth was still followed.

The piece of cloth on which the deed of conveyance is written measures 9" by 5 feet. The ink use for writing the deed is perfectly black and has not faded during the 375 years since the execution of the document. This deed is bilingual.

The document consists of two portions. The first portion is in Persian language and script, the second portion is in Sanskrit language and Devanagari script. The Persian portion contains all the recitals which at present are made in a deed of conveyance as will be seen from the English translation of the Persian portion appended hereto. The second portion contains all the recitals which are necessary to be mentioned in a deed of conveyance in addition to the names and honorific titles of the Moghul Emperor Akbar and other high officers of the city of Ahmedábád. Akbar is mentioned as the Emperor, Ajij Koká is mentioned as the Emporar's highest officer in Gujarát. Meer Ahmad's name is mentioned as that of the Kázi. Surai son of Gángai is mentioned as the Amatya-Minister. Sheikh Mundi is mentioned as the treasurer. All these names do not appear in the Persian portion of this deed. It seems that all deeds of conveyance executed in those times had to be drawn up in Sanskrit and the practice of mentioning the names of the officers just mentioned prevailed at that time.

The prevailing practice which now exists is to mention the amount of consideration in rupees, the current coin. In this deed of conveyance mention is made of 47000 takás and not rupees. From this it would not be improper to infer that in those days the prevailing practice was to state the consideration money in takás. In Wilson's Glossary of Revenue and Judicial terms the meaning of the word Taká is given.

In the Gaikwád Oriental Series a work called Lekhapadhati and edited by Shrigondekar has been published. It contains forms of various legal documents which were executed in the province of Gujarát. They are in Sanskrit. I consulted this work with a view to ascertain whether a deed of conveyance written in this form is to be found and I came across a Graha Vikraya Patra at page 35. The form is in Sanskrit language and in Devanagari script.

The form prescribes that the following particulars should be stated. The year, month and date, the names of the Government officials, the name and caste of the vendor, description of the house, the amount of the consideration, the name of the vendee. The sale-deed under discussion is in conformity with this form. At the time of the execution of the sale-deed the reigning monarch was Emperor Akbar and consequently his name and the names of Government officers at Ahmedabad are mentioned in this deed.

A general belief prevails among educated Indians that prior to the establishment of the British rule in India the system of registering deeds of conveyance and other legal documents relating to immovable property did not exist. This belief seems to have resulted from ignorance of history. All organised and civilised Governments have to make provision for recording transactions relating to immovable property. It is not therefore surprising that in the reign of Akbar sale deeds relating to immovable property were reduced to writing and were registered by important Government officials. After the establishment of the British rule in India regulations and laws were passed which brought into being the registration department and the system of registering documents relating to immovable property. The procedure of getting these documents registered which is now followed by Sub-Registrars was substantially followed by the officers of Akbar's time as will appear from the Persian part of the document. One important point to be noted is that there was no separate registration department in those times. To the Kazi or the Judge of the place was assigned the function of registering documents. Before concluding I refer to one more point which deserves special attention. The Court language of the Mughal Emperors was Persian. It is quite natural that they should feel anxious to make this language prevalent amongst the inhabitants of India whose language was Sanskrit and Prakrit languages derived therefrom. In these circumstances the Moghul Emperors realising the difficulty of making Persians the exclusive official language of the inhabitants of India adopted the bilingual system which served the convenience of both the rulers and the ruled. After the establishment of the British rule, the British rulers followed the system of the Mughal Emperors and allowed the use of the English and the vernacular languages in their administration.

The translation of the Persian text of the document is given below with a photo of the original document :—

This day it is written as follows :—

In the court of Justice of the chief city of Ahmedabad, in the presence of the Kazis and in the presence of the officers of the Momins and the officer of the City Hazrat Kazi Imamuddin Oza bin Devdas bin Gopal announced with free will and understanding the contract entered into by him with regard to his one storied house covered by tiled roof consisting of three rooms (one kitchen room), surrounded by

vacant space and other buildings and which is situated beyond the fortification wall of the city of Ahmedabad and the four boundaries of which are as follows :—

To the East the lane of all the Government Offices, to the west the house of Kashya bin Raman Salunki, to the south the house of Venji bin Bajya, to the north the house of Bai Digu Agnihotri. He also declared that the possession of this house is with him. There is no other person having any share in this house. This fact has been testified to by the two following persons, namely :—

- (1) Bhawan bin Kesu bin Ratan
- (2) Ramji bin Nayan Veerjanki

All these persons stated before the above officer that the vendor has sold and parted with all his proprietary rights over the above house for a price of 47,000 Takas. Half the amount of this is 23500 Takas. This house has been sold to Vishanan bin Jadu bin Bora and it has been given in his possession. Vishanan has paid the above amount and taken possession of the house. In this way this sale and purchase transaction has been effected according to law and brought into existence. The purchaser has paid the amount in cash and taken receipt for the same from the vendor. Now hereafter nothing is to be received or paid by any one.

If the vendor or the purchaser raise any objection or file any suit, the said objection and the said suit should be regarded as false. Admission has been given legally about all these matters and as a result of this this document has been executed.

Month of Ramjan, year 981.

Signature of the vendor Bhoja

Seal of
MOHAMAD JALALUDDIN
981

The words in the Tugra
Servant of Kazi Imamuddin Nayab Kazi

In this document the vendor and the purchaser have given their admission year 981

RAGHUNATHERAO AT NASIK

By V. S. Chitale*

The victory at Rakshasabhuvan brought about a very significant change in the nature of Government at Poona; for Raghunathrao decided to free Madhavrao Peshwa from surveillance and give him practically a full voice in the administration. That marked the end of Raghunathrao's regency and the beginning of a great and independent career. In the beginning of January 1764, Madhavrao, accompanied by his uncle and a large army, proceeded against Haider Ali who had made inroads into the Maratha territory. But notwithstanding the repeated requests¹ and appeals from the Peshwa, Raghunathrao left the camp and made his way towards Nasik, by the end of January 1764, where he wished to devote himself to a life of religious rites and ceremonies. The Peshwa shrewd as he was, however, ordered Trimbakrao Mams Pethe and Shivram Govind Limaye to accompany his uncle and to communicate to him the state of affairs at Nasik², from time to time. Almost at the same time Gopikabai, the Peshwa's mother, purposely went to Nasik to propitiate Raghunathrao.

Raghunathrao stayed at Nasik for a few days; but later, finding Trimbakeshwar a better place for his residence, got constructed there a new house for himself and his family.³ He had another house at Anandvalli, a place about four miles east of Nasik. Amongst the train of Raghunathrao, were Neelkanth Mahadeo Purandare, Chinto Vithal Rairikar⁴ and others. While leaving Poona for the Karnatak, the Peshwa had stipulated that Nana Phadnis should manage the affairs of the state in consultation with Raghunathrao who was in possession of the important seals of the state.

It should, however, be remembered that Raghunathrao and Nana Phadnis were at variance with each other. Nana had no other alternative but to submit to the dictates of the Peshwa's uncle. Nana knew well that Raghunathrao was under the malicious influence of his partisans, like Chinto Vithal, Abaji Mahadeo, Aba Purandare and others. The shrewd Nana tried to appease the Peshwa's uncle but he knew well that he was a hard nut to crack. In this connection, he depended much more on the help and advice of Trimbakrao Pethe and Shivram Govind. The state of affairs went on smoothly for a few months but in the month of May Raghunathrao asked Nana to come to Nasik and conduct the affairs under his direct supervision, an order Nana was reluctant

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¹ Khare; 396. ² Khare; 413. ³ Khare; 428, 438. ⁴ Chinto Vithal Rairikar was born on April 14, 1734, and died in August 1781, while in confinement at fort Sumargad, four miles to the south of Mahipatgad in the District of Ratnagiri.

to obey. Ultimately Nana had to submit and he went to Nasik. When Nana was there Raghunathrao asked his trusted followers to see him and seek his full cooperation in the administration of the state, as Raghunathrao always believed that Nana should not get a free hand in the administration. A few letters, in the hand of Raghunathrao, have been searched and taken by me from the Rairikar Daftar and they throw some more light on the affairs at Nasik. The first runs as follows; and is written to Chinto Vithal.

Received on 18th July, 1764.

It has been ordained by God that I should stay at Nasik for a few days. It is absolutely necessary that the Government must go on. You and Nana must fully cooperate. In order that there should be smooth sailing of the Government, I should like to advise you to see Nana Phadnis at his residence, discuss with him and explain to him the affairs of the state and ask him to send reinforcements at an early date. (Trimbakrao) Mama is also at Nasik (at present). Abaji, not a quite insignificant statesman, is also there. I shall be happy to know that the administration of the state is going on without much difficulty and with the full cooperation of all. That alone would give me the greatest satisfaction. Remember that you are not in the good books of Nana (Phadnis) and of course, the affairs of the state seem to have got stuck into the silt and mud of unfavourable circumstances. It is, therefore, my desire that you should see Mama and Nana, satisfy Nana, offer him full co-operation and ask him to despatch reinforcements and an equal number of guns to me and to the Peshwa. As you know all the details, an early reply is expected. You will, I hope, spare me the trouble of seeing Nana and Mama. That would certainly please me the most; it would also increase our prestige. Remember that I shall be much pleased to know that you are managing the affairs of the state according to my desire. I mean to stay here for a month or so, till I receive your answer.

To Abaji Mahadeo.—You should note the contents of the above letter and after seeing Mama and Nana, the affairs of the state should be carried on well. In fine, I must add that it is a known fact that Chinto Vithal is the most trusted friend of mine. Nana is not supposed to do very important business, and therefore he should sanction the necessary subsidies. He is a tactful person. You should suggest him alone whatever measures you like and it is my desire that Chintoba should see that Nana acts accordingly. You should also act on the same lines and see that both of them, wise as they are, follow the advice.

Yet in another letter, dated July 25, 1764, Raghunathrao wrote to Chinto Vithal: I have received full information from Chinto Anant Deosthali whom I had asked to see you. I have despatched with him all the state-seals. All letters should be prepared and sent to me. You have, I suppose, been holding consultation with Abaji Mahadeo, as desired by me. Chinto-Anant is equally a trusted servant of mine, a fact you already know. If you happen

to go to Nasik in a week's time, make it a point to meet Trimbakrao Mama and keep him informed and satisfied.

In that alone lies real greatness. A few guns have been handed over to Trimbak Khanderao; see to it that they are the right type of guns; for otherwise, the battle would be lost. As I could not personally inform Setyaji, you should sound him (on my behalf) in that respect and inform him that the guns should satisfy Trimbak Khanderao. Remember that the situation at Satara¹ should be well in our hands. My mind will not be at ease unless Haidar is defeated. You have to be too cautious while managing the affairs of the state. That alone is the best religious service at present. You all three should hold joint consultations regarding the policy we have to adopt against Gamaji (Yamaji) and Yeshwantrao Powar. If consulted, I shall direct you in that respect. Think twice (before you act) and act honestly.

P.S.—Here are a few instructions regarding the use of the seals. The square seal is with me for my use only; whenever a letter is addressed to a respectable person, it should be sent to me for the square seal. No amount should be disbursed and payment made, unless it is sanctioned by me. It is always a good policy to recognise first the handwriting of the writer and then a reply prepared and sent with the right seal on it. You should go on issuing orders as you have been doing. Documents and important letters should be forwarded to me for final disposal. Unimportant and general letters and ordinary permits need not be delayed for my sanction.

You should carry on the administration according to my orders. I do not think I shall be able to return soon and so I mean to fetch the Holy Fire here. All the Persian letters should first be read and confirmed by Nandram and Mansing and also by the Hakimji. These letters should be (carefully and) literally read (before they are despatched) and copied according to the Persian draft which is sanctioned. The drafts should bear the following remark, "letters as per the draft and copied in the hand of such and such Parasnavis."

Practically at the same time Raghunathrao wrote² to Nana Phadnis that as he would be staying for a fortnight or so at Trimbak he (Nana) and Chinto Vithal should conjointly conduct the administration during his absence; that Chinto Vithal being his most trusted servant, his advice should be treated as that of his (Raghunathrao's). He also informed Nana that the state seals of

¹ Raghunathrao always wanted the Chhatrapati to be under his control. In this connection, it should be remembered that Vyankajipant Potnis, in collaboration with Gamaji Yamaji had secretly arranged to take possession of Satara Fort, where the Chhatrapati stayed. Ranoji Shinde, the Killedar of Satara, was brought over by the Conspirators. The Peshwa was, at this news, greatly perturbed; but in spite of this Raghunathrao issued orders to supply Ranoji Shinde with a new seal, Mahadevrao was greatly annoyed with the policy of his uncle (Rajwade, 14; 35, 36, 74).

² S. P. D. 19; 18.

the Peshwa were sent to Chinto Vithal, to be used at the time of granting Sanads and issuing letters of warning.

These letters are important in that they depict the character of the writer and the urge he had in respect of the defeat of Haidar Ali, the general administration of the state and especially the correspondence of the state. It appears that the Peshwa used different seals on different kinds of letters and more care was taken in the case of Persian letters.

In the meanwhile Nana who never wanted to stay at Nasik returned to Poona in a few days. Madhavarao who was fighting with Haidar repeatedly requested his uncle to join him in the Karnatak and so Raghunathrao left Maharashtra and joined the Peshwa¹ on January 27, 1765, and showed much anxiety about the defeat of Haidar Ali. But his mind was ever centered on the affairs at Poona and the relations of the Peshwa's Government with the Nizam. So in the beginning of 1765, he wrote to Chinto Vithal as follows:—

This is just to remind you of my last letter which remains unanswered. The constellation, Mars, is now favourable for the collection of grains and you should, therefore, store at Nasik wheat and gram worth about ten thousand rupees. See to it that letters to Dhondo Ram and Muradkhan are quickly despatched. All letters should be sent to Dhondo Ram who will deliver them to the right person at the proper time. I doubt Muradkhan's sincerity; for I think he is partial to the Nizam and would try to secure more territory for him. But I am sure he would never allow him to join Haidar (against us). It is my firm belief that Naro-Shankar owes the amount to Vishnu Mahadeo. Govind Nyabarkhan knows the whole story (about this transaction). If you think it proper you should despatch letters to Meer Musa. He should be persuaded to join us against Haidar Ali; at least see to it that he is neutral.

Raghunathrao showed interest in artillery, as he had realised its importance. Like Madhavrao, he wanted to establish factories to manufacture gun-balls and match-locks. How far his ideas were given effect to, none can tell; but we have sufficient proof to show that he had some interest in the manufacture of guns and gun-powder. For in 1765, he wrote to Chinto Vithal the following letter:— Trimbak Khanderao and Yeshwantrao (Powar) have taken seventy-five match-locks but I should like to take one hundred. I mean to establish a factory to manufacture gun-balls. Mahipatrao (Panse) should, therefore, be asked to manufacture two kinds of guns; twenty-five guns which can shoot a ball weighing about one seer and two cannon which can shoot a ball weighing five or seven seers. The approximate cost for this purpose would come up to two to two and a half lacs of rupees, and I would not mind spending about Rs. 50,000 more if Mahipatrao is willing to manufacture a third gun. At the same time, enlist about 200 match-lock-men. You will, perhaps, be surprised at this number and ask me the propriety of the same as there are only a few rockets (in our possession). My idea is that we shall have to fight either two

¹ Khare, 549.

or three battles to decide the issue and for this purpose more rockets are necessary. I have also a mind to establish a third factory to manufacture guns and rockets. If you approve of this idea and if Mahipatrao agrees to this proposal, the factory should be immediately established. It is easier to manufacture match-locks but you should see to it that good cannon balls are manufactured in the new factory as well. The match-locks should not be heavy and should be easily carried in carts drawn by four or six or eight oxen. Never mind if you have to spend forty to fifty thousand rupees more than the estimated cost, as I presume that one thousand rupees are enough to manufacture one match-lock. I know that this is going to be a new factory and that the material is not at hand and will, therefore, have to be bought; but even so, do not mind spending a few more thousands for this purpose. Thus the amount necessary for this purpose would be about forty-thousand rupees. The necessary number of match-locks can be secured from Poona, Asher, Daulatabad and Ahmednagar. But they must be of the best material and made either of Panchrashi metal or of steel. Bad and ordinary match-locks should be at once discarded as useless. Any how, one hundred match-locks are wanted and I think, there would be no difficulty in securing them. Do not worry as to how to procure Rs. 30,000 to 35,000, for you should always remember the proverb that Ram is the giver of an Ajagar (snake).

I do not wish to comment on the documents which I have presented here in an English garb. The reader may take them for whatever worth they are; but I do maintain that they throw more light on the actions and motives of Raghunathrao during his stay at Nasik.

THE POLICY OF THE FRENCH IN THE MARATHA-MYSORE WAR

(1785—1787)

By Mohibbul Hasan Khan

Tipu Sultan had felt greatly disappointed and embittered with the conduct of the French during the Second Anglo-Mysore War, because they had not helped him in proportion to the hopes they had raised and the promises they had made, and because in the end they had betrayed him by making, without his knowledge, a separate peace with the English¹. In spite of this, however, Tipu did not break his relations with them, hoping that they might yet prove useful allies in any future war against the English or any of the country powers. But when he became involved in war with the Marathas and the Nizam they did not come to his assistance; they preferred to remain neutral.

The policy of the French at this period was to prevent the Indian powers from fighting with each other in order to unite them under their leadership in a confederacy against the English.² This is evident from the letter which Bussy wrote to Comte de Vergennes. He observed: "The Marathas and the Nizam have made an alliance to destroy Tipu Sultan. This plan marvellously suits the English. I have laboured and still labour to break it, and at the same time to unite the three Indian powers against the English without compromising ourselves."³ It was in accordance with this policy that Vicomte de Souillac, Governor-General of the French establishments in the East, advised Nana Phadnavis, Tipu Sultan and Nizam Ali Khan to forget their internal differences and become friends;⁴ and Cossigny, the Governor of Pondicherry, warned Nana that if the Peshwa, the Nizam and Tipu did not unite, but remained attached to their narrow, selfish and immediate interests, "the English would profit one day by the disunion of the princes of the country."⁵

But the attempts of the French to prevent war and to organise them under their leadership in order "to break the ambitious designs of the English"⁶ were not successful, and hostilities broke out between Tipu and the Marathas. The French thereupon became active in mediating peace between the belligerents. Montigny, the French representative at Poona, inquired from Nana on what

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¹ See my article "The French in the Second Anglo-Mysore War", *Bengal: Past and Present*, January-December, 1946.

² Letter No. 442; Bussy to Marechal de Castries, dated October 20, 1784 (*Pondicherry Records*).

³ Letter No. 437, Bussy to Comte de Vergennes.

⁴ Letter No. 894, Cossigny to Montigny, dated March 8, 1786.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Letter No. 924.

conditions was he prepared to make peace so that Tipu might be persuaded to end hostilities.⁷ Although the Sultan, owing to the success which he had obtained over the allied forces," far from desiring peace, has decided to continue the war,"⁸ Montigny gave the assurance that in case persuasion failed Tipu would be forced to come to terms. But Nana gave him only vague replies. The French were no longer regarded strong enough to have any weight in the counsels of the Poona Government.⁹

The French policy in this war was also determined by the sixteenth article of the Treaty of Versailles (1783), which forbade the English and the French from participating in the wars between the Indian princes. That was why the French did not render military assistance to Tipu when he was attacked by the Marathas. Moreover, they did not ally themselves with Tipu, because they believed that his power was ephemeral, and that sooner or later he would be overwhelmed by the combined forces of the Marathas, the Nizam and the English. They were, therefore, more anxious to enter into an alliance with the Marathas. As early as November 1, 1783, Marechal de Castries had written to Bussy that an alliance with the Marathas would be more useful to the Company than with Tipu whose "power was known, and had not the time to acquire real stability." "The Marathas", on the other hand, according to him, "had a stability more strong and proper to create a revolution in India."¹⁰ But the Marathas did not favourably respond to the overtures of the French because they looked upon the latter as the friends of Tipu and in secret alliance with him. Montigny tried his best to assure Nana that there was no compact between the French and Tipu, and that they would not help him in his war against the Marathas.¹¹ It would be only if the English broke the sixteenth clause of the Treaty of Versailles and went to the assistance of the Marathas that they would be obliged to give up their neutrality, and join Tipu Sultan. Thus Cossigny informed Gopal Rao, the Maratha Vakil at Pondicherry, who inquired as to what would be the attitude of the French if the English helped the Marathas, that the French were "always ready to march to fight those who should attack us, or who should try to violate the last treaty of peace."¹² But despite these assurances, Nana ignored the French.¹³ He preferred the friendship of

⁷ Letter No. 952, Cossigny to Nana, dated January 5, 1787.

⁸ Letter No. 944, Cossigny to Montigny, dated December 27, 1787; also Letter No. 951.

⁹ *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. II. Letter Nos. 14 and 17.

¹⁰ Vicomte de Souillac was ready to help the Marathas when war with Tipu became imminent. Montigny informed Nana that Souillac, formerly Governor of Mauritius and at present General at Pondicherry, had come to Goa with an army of 10,000 men and was ready to join the Marathas whenever they would be ready to break their treaty with the English Company. Secret Proceedings, dated December 7, 1785; No. 24. (National Archives India).

¹¹ Letter No. 894, Cossigny to Montigny, dated March 8, 1786. (Pondicherry Records).

¹² Letter No. 952, Cossigny to Nana, dated January 5, 1787.

¹³ Letter No. 960. Marechal de Castries wrote to de Souillac that the Marathas are "so little interested to treat with us that they would not adopt the measures which we would indicate to them".

the English whom he regarded as more powerful and dependable allies.¹⁴ A special agent named Mons. Gudar arrived in Poona early in August 1786 from Pondicherry to establish friendly relations with Peshwa.¹⁵ But his efforts also bore no fruit. Malet succeeded in counteracting the intrigues of both Montigny and Gudar.

¹⁴ Letter No. 894, Cossigny to Montigny, dated March 8, 1786.

¹⁵ *Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. II, No. 17.

INDIA'S TRADE WITH TURKESTAN (1873)

By Anil Chandra Banerjee

From time immemorial India's trade with other Asiatic countries has been occupying a very important place in her economic system. No attempt has yet been made to write a comprehensive history of this trade. Probably adequate materials are not available so far as the ancient and medieval periods are concerned; but for the 18th and 19th centuries documentary evidence of unimpeachable value may be found in abundance in the National Archives of India. When I wrote my books on Burma¹ I found many references to India's trade with Burma and Siam although the documents used by me referred primarily to political history. Then I took up the study of British India's relations with Afghanistan in the sixties and seventies of the last century, and in the documents relating to this subject I found much useful information about India's trade with Afghanistan, Persia, Turkestan and Central Asia. I hope some enterprising student of modern Indian history will devote himself to this very interesting and important subject. In the context of our newly won independence India's relations with her Asiatic neighbours have assumed a new importance.

The above remarks may be illustrated by a brief reference to an interesting document² preserved in the National Archives of India. In September, 1873, Mr. R. B. Shaw, British Joint Commissioner on special duty at Ladakh, sent a report to the Government of the Punjab on the India-Turkestan trade route between Palampur and Leh.

He wrote:--

This portion of the trade route may be divided into two parts, distinguished by the physical features of the country traversed, and which may be called respectively the Himalayan Section and the Tibetan Section. These sections correspond exactly with the divisions between British territory and that of the Maharaja of Kashmir, that is to say, the Himalayan Section terminates at the northern foot of the Baralacha Pass, while the boundary of the British territory is only a march further north, shortly after the passage of the Tsarap River.

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¹ *The Eastern Frontier of British India and Annexation of Burma*.

² Political Department Proceedings, A Branch, February, 1874, No. 79.

This coincidence is a favourable circumstance for the route, as all that part of it which requires able engineering and constant supervision to make and keep it passable is in the hand of the British Government, which has already expended considerable sums of money on it with the best result, while that portion which is under Native rule, and where consequently any very large expenditure or any very systematic works of improvement are scarcely to be looked for, does not need them so much. While the first section is Alpine in character, subject to the influence of the periodical rains and (in places) liable to injury from the melting of the snows in spring, the latter passes over high plateaux and rolling downs, where the rain or snow fall is almost nil, and where traffic can make its own way without the assistance of the roads, as a rule. Hitherto, it may be said, up to within the last few years the feet of men and animals were the only road-makers in Kashmir territory. But, notwithstanding this, goods always found their way down on ponies or on Yaks from Ladakh to the borders of Lahour (British province). But Lahour formed a great gap in the line of traffic, until the attention of the Government was called to it in 1862 by Mr. Davies' Trade Report. At that time all goods had to be carried through on men's backs, and it was only after crossing the Rotung Pass into Kulu that ponies or mules were again able to be used on the comparatively good roads which had been made through that valley into Kangra. This will exhibit the nature of the difference between the two sections of the route. South of the Baralacha road-making is an absolute necessity for four-footed traffic; north of that Pass it is almost a luxury.

Amritsar may be taken as the chief starting point of the traffic on the south. The cart road which will eventually connect Amritsar with the tea districts round Palampur, passing through Nurpur and up the whole length of the so-called Kangra valley, is not yet completed for carts beyond Nurpur. The bridges are the main cause of delay, for I believe the roadway is finished, but another cart road from Julandhar cuts in near Kangra, and enables carts to reach Palampur from the plains, that section of the firstmentioned road lying between Kangra and Palampur being open for traffic. The Julandhar cart road, however, takes a less advantageous line than the other, as it crosses several parallel ranges of hills, Sewalik and others, which intervene between the Kangra valley and the plains, descending into their valleys and re-ascending in a toilsome manner. The Amritsar cart road, on the contrary, takes advantage of an opening through these hills (which die away in the bend of the Bias and do not recommence till beyond the Ravi) and almost reaches Nurpur before there is any very perceptible rise.

The united (Julundhar and Amritsar) cart road which terminates at Palampur might probably be continued as far as the Guma Salt Mines at no greater cost per mile than between Nurpur and Palampur. There are only two rivers of any importance to be bridged, with a few mountain torrents. The cart road would probably avoid the steep ascent beyond Baijnath by turning the end of the spur of hill which the present road climbs over. Beyond this, on the Suka Bagh plateau, carts are actually in use on the present road for the service

of the Raja of Mandi's Plantation. Just before reaching Guma, there are some steep cliffs which would give a little trouble.

All this is now traversed by a good mule road with no gradient too steep for a camel. Such the road continues, passing under Guma and rising by a gradual ascent through the deodar forest to the crest of the Jatangri ridge. This ridge and the opposite higher parallel ridge of Babbu are separated by the deep gorge of the Ui river down to which the road plunges, skirting the summit of some steep grassy precipices and then winding down through a forest. An easy gradient is managed notwithstanding the abruptness of the descent. At the foot of the hill the road is apt to get spoilt by the numerous springs, which burst out of the earth.

Crossing the Ui by a wooden "Sanga" bridge the road begins winding up through the hills on the opposite side, assuming a most tortuous course as it follows the outlines of the hillsides into deep sinuosities and bays and round projecting spurs, chiefly through a forest region, ever rising at an easy gradient towards the Babbu Pass. This is a natural notch cut in a deep ridge of rock up which the road zigzags from either side. It is a short and sharp ascent rendered quite easy by the zigzags, which, however, might be improved, especially on the south of Mandi side. Each reach of road is comparatively level, but the truns are very steep. This is exactly the opposite of the adopted on the great roads of Switzerland, where each turn forms a kind of level platform, the whole of the rise being gained by the gradient of the intervening straight pieces. Such care is scarcely necessary except for wheeled traffic, but the turns should at least be no steeper than the rest of the road. It is obviously very awkward for a camel to have a steep ascent at the very place where it has also a sharp turn to make. On the whole, however, the ascent and descent of the Babbu Pass are quite practicable for Indian camels. The road is best in the Kulu side, through a rich forest.

From the northern foot of the Babbu Pass down to Sultanpur where joins the main valley of the Bias, the road is good. Thence up the valley the Bias (Kulu) it proceeds chiefly along the flats on the right bank of the river and partly along the intervening hill sides as far as Manali. Above this the old road is so exposed to devastation from the mountain torrents (which in 1871 rose in an unusual flood of which the traces are still everywhere visible), that a new road has been made along the left bank of the river, recrossing it again above the junction of a large feeder from the north-west, which in reality brings in larger body of water than that which is nominally the main Bias. Zigzagging up a sudden rise (through which the river forces its way in a wonderful gorge or narrow cleft) the road reaches a grassy valley between some high cliffs on one side and the forest slopes on the other. Here is the last rest house (Kalla) before the passage of the Rotang Pass.

All this road is in capital order for mules and could be used by camels in order to make it perfectly fit for the latter the bridges should be strengthened (chiefly the small ones over side streams) and in some places rocks should

removed and branches of trees cut at the height of a camel's back where greater width is required than at the ground level.

From Ra la the road ascends a grassy slope by zigzags into a little plateau called Marri, where used to stand Lena Singh's hut. This has now stumbled down (since my last visit in 1871). The road here was not in a very good order, although perfectly passable for all laden animals. But it was stony and the springs at the side require some care to prevent their making the road into a quagmire, which doubles the toil of the ascent.

Beyond Marri a change in the line of road is desirable. At present it dips down into a deep basin full of quagmires, and where large drifts of snow remain late in the year. Out of this basin it reascends by three several very steep and toilsome ascents all of which are mere surplusage. The traveller on horseback floundering through the flush or toiling up the ascents, see above him the more fortunate foot passengers proceeding easily along the hillside by a gradually rising foot tract which leaves the road at Marri and rejoins it near the tip of the last ascent. The only obstacle to this foot track being turned into a bridle path or mule road is a rocky descent (some 30 feet deep) into a torrent bed shortly before its junction with the present road. This obstacle however, would cost but little to overcome and with it the most troublesome feature of the Rotang Pass would disappear. The great basin above-mentioned was, I believe, the scene of the death of some 70 men who perished in the Pass in 1863 during an early fall of snow. I may add that the zigzags by which the road ascends out of this basin are very steep and stony.

The top of the Pass is a plain of some extent; from its northern edge the ground falls away very steeply down to the Chandra River. Looking down from this point a bridge and bungalow are seen somewhat to the right or up-stream, while the village of Koksar is some distance down-stream or to the left of the spectator.

After describing in some details the difficulties of the "Himalayan Section" of the road Mr Shaw continued:—

A few hundred yards after crossing the ford of the Tsarap the road enters the Maharaja's territory in a level plain and continues along the flats on the right bank of the river for several miles. (The second section of the road, which I have described in Para. 2 as the Tibetan portion, was entered a march back at the foot of the descent from the Baralacha). At some seven miles beyond the Maharaja's boundary the road crosses the mouth of a side nullah, the "Chang-Lung" (where improvement is required in the descent through loose alluvium) and about a mile further it suddenly leaves the Tsarap River, and begins to ascend by sharp zigzags (which have been somewhat improved by the Joint Commissioners in 1871) towards the "Lacha-Lung" Pass.

It is in the approach to this Pass that the greatest possibility of improvement appears in all the routes between the British boundary and Ladakh, for

after the sharp zigzag ascent just mentioned the road, crossing under some cliffs into the basin of the "Chang-Lung" nullah, continues for some miles along the hill side which slope down to that stream, and then makes another steep rise over a spur which is as high as the "Lacha-Lung" Pass itself (over 1700 feet); thence it descends again into the bed of the "Chang-Lung" nullah, say a thousand feet below. Now to this place the "Chang-Lung" has ascended quite gradually from the level of the Tsarap River, the road, as above stated, crossing its mouth about a mile before it begins to ascend to the Pass. It is obvious therefore that if a road by this nullah were practicable it would be both more direct and also lead by a more gradual incline from the river to the Pass than the present road with its sharp ascents and descents, and one may say, its double pass. I am assured by the Rupshu men that the only obstacles to carrying a road up the bed of this nullah are one or two places where it passes between vertical cliffs, and where big fallen rocks block up the narrow passage. I saw one of these places and there appeared to be no great difficulty if a few pounds of powder were applied. The brother of the Rupshu *Goba* (or headman) states that these difficult places only extend over one or two hundred yards altogether

Beyond the "Lacha-Lung" Pass the road is perfectly easy for several miles through a gently sloping gorge, until a kind of rocky portal is reached, through which the stream escapes into the more open and lower country beyond; here the fall of vast rocks from above has formed a kind of dam on the outside of which the road zigzags down. The Joint Commissioners in 1871 caused these zigzags to be made, but the laden sheep of the "Kampas" have caused great damage as they will not abandon their former habit of going straight down the descent and doing so in great numbers they have broken down the supporting walls of the roads and otherwise damaged it. This will require annual repairs...

From this point to the foot of the "Tag-Lang" Pass ($2\frac{1}{2}$ marches) a carriage and four might be driven or 20 of them in a row. The ascent of the "Tag-Lang" is very slight, although its height is about 18,000 feet, but the last camping ground "Debring" is but little lower. Instructions and advances have just been sent for the improvement of the last hundred feet or two of the ascent. When these instructions have been carried out, the road from Debring to the top of the Pass will be simply one straight stretch of easy gradient two or three miles long, with another similar but shorter one, turning sharply back and reaching the top at one stretch. Although this is the highest pass on the road south of Ladakh, yet the natives always quote it as an example of an easy ascent when they are describing any less known pass of a similar character.

The descent of the "Tag-Lang" on the Ladakh side is steeper but presents no real difficulty. Still it might be improved. There is the choice for the first mile or two between a pretty rapid descent through a narrow ravine which in spring choked with snow, and which is not susceptible of being permanently improved and a more circuitous route, which, keeping at the same high level for some distance, ends by descending into the ravine, where it begins to open

out into an easy valley. It is on the latter route that any attention in the way of repairs must be bestowed, and advances of money have just been made by the Joint Commissioners for its improvement. It is perfectly practicable now, but the road is to be widened, and the last zigzag improved.

After following an open valley for some miles, the road enters a narrow winding defile beyond the village of Gya. Through this defile the Gya stream finds its way down to the Indus. The road is carried along its banks, in many places a causeway has been built up out of the water, and the stream is crossed several times on shaky bridges. Floods often temporarily cover or permanently injure these causeways. This is specially the case below Miru (a village half a march below Gya; and an alternative road has been this year constructed from this place to the Indus over a ridge (Shaug) into the side valley which debouches at Marshalang. This road is shorter but more tiresome than the regular route which follows the stream down to its junction with the India at Upshi and thence goes along the open plain of the Indus valley to Marshalang.

From Marshalang there are two routes, one on each side of the Indus, to Leh. That by the left bank continues along an open plain through Chushot and Gulab Bagh, crossing the Indus by a bridge near the latter place and ascending thence through sandy open stretches to Leh.

The road by the right bank crosses from Marshalang by a bridge near that village and, after passing one or two places where a road has had to be constructed in the hill sides on the river bank, enters the well-cultivated plain of Tikshe and She, beyond which it joins the other road about a mile or two from Leh.

It is the opinion of the Povindahs (hereditary camels owners) and other merchants whom I have consulted that the whole road is at present quite open for camel traffic. They also suggest small improvements, which I have duly noticed above. Mules are now the chief carriage animals employed, and I have only heard of the loss of two during the present season. They have driven the local carriage by coolies, ponies and Yaks completely off the roads within the last three years, since Captain Harcourt established the Kulu Mule train. This they have done not so much by their greater cheapness as by the ease with which merchants can make an arrangement straight through Ladakh with them, instead of having to haggle at each valley they enter with its inhabitants for carriage. The Lahour men regret their former customers, but the Rupshu men have lost so many Yaks by bad seasons, and are so busy with His Highness the Maharaja's borax, sulphur and salt supplies at Puga and Tso-Kar, that they could not now supply the same amount of carriage as formerly.

The success which has thus attended the establishment of a mule train (the private mule owners have been induced by its example to enter into the traffic) suggests the possibility of bringing camels into the road. The sums of money expended on the Lahour road would be to some extent wasted unless the fullest

advantage is drawn from it. If camel carriage were established, its greater cheapness would afford some return in public utility, for the expenditure in making the road fit for it. But natives are slow at novelties, though ready to follow a successful lead. It might be advantageous to offer a considerable reward (say several hundred rupees) for the first train of fifteen laden camels which may perform the journey between Ladakh and Palampur. Notice of this might be given in the Derajat and at Peshawar as well as in the Punjab and also at Leh and Yarkand. In venturing to make this suggestion I trust I am not travelling beyond my subject.

An opinion has been expressed that the Kashmir route is the more important one between Ladakh and the Punjab, and that the route by Kulu is less favoured by merchants. It should however be remembered that for the last three years the Yarkand caravans have reached Ladakh so late that, as a rule, the Yarkand traders had no option but to take Kashmir route, the other being closed by snow, which they would choose if the caravans were allowed to leave Yarkand at the usual season (as there is every reason to hope will be the case after this year). In 1871 all the earlier arrivals started off by way of Kulu, although warned that the Baralacha Pass was probably closed by that time, and they made their way safely down. They state that they prefer that road, as it leads them to the great marts of Amritsar, Lahore, Jullundar, Delhi, etc. and they have no business in the north of the Punjab. Moreover, they get grazing for their horses on the Kulu road for nothing, whereas they have to pay for all the grass they want *via* Kashmir.

Similarly traders from the chief centres of trade abovementioned prefer to come straight up *via* Kulu rather than to make the detour *via* Kashmir. It will be seen from the Joint Commissioners' Trade Report for the first seven months of this year that in that period goods to the value of Rs. 93,060 came up *via* Kulu and only Rs. 81,751 *via* Kashmir and this although the Baralacha (Kulu route) only opened in the third week of June¹ while the Zoji La (Kashmir route) opens a month earlier. Of course the very fact of its opening a month earlier is a fact in favour of the latter route, and so with its closing later. But unseasonable traffic is the exception and not the rule, and for the summer (the season which the traders would always choose if they could) the Kulu route is certainly the favourite with such traders (the majority) as have no business in Rawalpindi and Peshawar. These facts are merely mentioned in order to secure its proper share of attention to the Kulu route, and not by any means to depreciate the value of the other.

¹ Since 1st July the arrivals up to date have been (of goods from India)—

<i>Via</i> Kulu	...	...	...	494 horse loads.
<i>Via</i> Kashmir	...	...	...	167 horse loads.

Departures :

<i>Via</i> Kulu	...	...	...	63 horse loads.
<i>Via</i> Kashmir	...	...	...	4 horse loads.

(Showing the comparison of traffic in the summer months when both routes are open).

A FRENCH PROJECT FOR THE CONQUEST OF SIND

By S. P. Sen

For many years after the conclusion of the Anglo-French struggle in India in 1761 the French persistently refused to accept their defeat as final and entertained hopes of being able to re-establish their old position in alliance with some of the important country powers. They kept themselves in regular contact with the different Indian Princes, intrigued against the English in all the Darbars, sent full information to the home Government about the state of affairs in India, and laid ambitious projects about military expeditions. When the next real opportunity came, during the War of American Independence, for another trial of strength with the English, the decision of the French Government to send an expeditionary force was largely influenced by the various reports sent home by the French agents in India and by their numerous plans of military operations. There are in the Pondicherry Archives more than twenty documents containing reports on the Indian political situation and plans of military operations in alliance with some of the country powers. Some of these plans were absolutely chimerical, born of too much confidence and lack of realisation of the difficulties to be encountered. Nevertheless, for a student of history it is interesting to take some note of these plans, as furnishing a background to the story of the French military expedition under Bussy in 1782-83.

One of the projects formed, which apparently engaged the serious attention of the French Government for some time, was by Chevalier, the "Commandant" at Chandernagore. He kept himself in close touch with the Mughal Emperor and Najaf Khan and maintained a regular Waquil at Delhi. It appears from references in some documents that Chevalier's intrigues at the Imperial Darbar bore fruit, and both Shah Alam and his ministers wrote to the French Government with some definite proposals for a political and military alliance. Although the exact terms of these proposals are not known from the documents now available it appears that the main provisions related to the cession of the province of Tatta (Sind) to France and the despatch of a French expeditionary army which would land at the port of Tatta on the Indus, secure the whole province and then proceed to Delhi to join the Imperial army, from where the combined forces were to swoop down on Bengal. The plan, on the face of it, appears to be too ambitious and requires many adverse suppositions about the military strength of the English and of their ability to meet such a

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sudden assault on their position of dominance in India. It also assumes the superiority of the French army and navy, the absence of all difficulties to enable the French to secure the province of Sind quickly and to move rapidly from one end of the sub-continent to the other, and lastly the wholehearted co-operation of a weak and timid ally like the Mughal Emperor. However, this plan was under the consideration of the French Government for a long time, who even sent out instructions to India to explore the possibility of its successful execution; and it would therefore be worthwhile to notice here extracts from some documents relating to the Tatta project, which has remained so far unknown to students of history.¹

In a memoir on the "Situation of the English in Hindusthan",² written in 1776, we have the following reference to the Tatta project:

"The Padsha has just written a letter to the king (of France) and Abdoulacan (Abdul Ahad Khan), his principal minister, has also written one to the Secretary of State for Marine. M. Madec is in charge of this affair..... he enjoys the greatest influence at the Court of Delhi.....With a view to obtain a body of French troops in Hindusthan the Emperor proposes to the king to cede to him a very important town and a large territory, which in their present condition yield a revenue of more than 30 lakhs. This cession offered is in the most advantageous situation that may be desired. The town is called Tatta; it is situated on the left bank of the river Indus, at 25 degrees of latitude and 20 leagues from the point where the river falls into the sea. Medium sized landing crafts can go up to the town, which passes to be the strongest in India. The advantages which the nation will derive from it are enormous. This possession in many respects is like Bengal. As the river Indus is navigable for more than 500 leagues of its course, one can send by it an enormous quantity of goods from Europe and Asia to the various parts of India and Persia, and Tatta will become a centre of commerce as important for us as Calcutta is for the English.

"It must, however, be said that this cession offered by the Padsha might be disputed by the inhabitants who live in virtual independence..... M. Madec indicates to the Minister that there would be required a corps of three thousand troops which could be collected in the Isle of France and which would proceed directly from that colony in order to occupy Tatta without any obstacle.....

¹ There is a passing reference in Forrest's *Selections from the Letters, Despatches and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series*, Vol. I, p. 343.

² Document No. 233—Catalogue des Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde Française, Pondichery, I. Gaudart in the printed Catalogue states that the document, which does not bear any signature, was possibly drawn up by Jean Law to enlighten Bellecombe, his successor as Governor of Pondichery, on the political situation of the country. But there are two reasons to think that it was not written by Law. First, the views expressed here regarding the Tatta project are opposed to the views expressed by Law in his "Mémoire sur l'Inde" (1780)—Doc. No. 321. Second, in this document the writer once uses the word "I", but a few lines later "Monsieur Law" is spoken of in the third person.

"As soon as one will be in possession of Tatta, one will easily be able to know the route to Delhi where a part of the troops will be sent. The first operation would be to re-establish the empire in its ancient splendour and there would afterwards be formed all the projects that might appear suitable.....

"If the Court of Versailles has some intentions regarding India, the appearance of M. Bellecombe with two ships will facilitate their execution. The two ships will cruise along the coasts of the Mughal Empire, and the news will soon reach Delhi. It will be useful if to these two ships may be added a corvette. This light vessel will be of use in exploring the mouth of the Indus and in gathering details about the town of Tatta. It will, be necessary for M. Bellecombe to write to the Emperor and his minister Doulacan (Abdul Ahad Khan) immediately upon his arrival. He will indicate to them that he has knowledge of the proposals made to the Court..... that he has arrived with three vessels of war, of which one is already at the mouth of the Indus, in order to prepare to take possession of Tatta. After having received replies from the Court it will be equally useful for him to send a word of courtesy to Messieurs de Modave, Madec and Sombre....."

In a letter dated Pondicherry, the 24th January 1778, written by de Bellecombe, Governor of Pondicherry, to the Minister of Marine, there is the following reference to the 'Tatta project':³

"In consequence of the orders which he (Chevalier) has received from you, Monseigneur, he is going to send the "Sauterlle", a vessel of 40 to 50 tons, to the mouth of the river Indus and which is to proceed up to Tatta. It is Sieur Desblotières who is in charge of this operation, and who, I am assured is the only person capable of fulfilling perfectly all the missions. It is necessary to collect the most detailed knowledge about the place, to explore the coasts of the gulf of Guzerate or Sind which till now are entirely unknown, to examine the depth of the water at high and low tides, to draw up an exact plan, to explore equally the depth and the banks of the river up to Fratta (Tatta), to present himself to the Governor of the place as a man who has come only with views of trade, and to have his permission to go there every year by declaring that he will bring articles necessary for the consumption of the country, to examine during his stay the fortress, the situation, the forces of the place and the difficulties which may be encountered; after which Sieur Desblotières will come here, if the season does not permit him to go to Suez, from where he will pass on to France in order to present you his work personally.....

"It is necessary to give Sieur Desblotières a companion of voyage, Sieur Soulier, who has already made some travels in Hindusthan, and who has even been with the Emperor at Delhi. His destination is to proceed from Fratta (Tatta) to Delhi, and on the way he is to make the most useful notes on the

roads, the difficulties which may be encountered for artillery and carriages, the towns and villages he will visit, and the quality and the abundance or scarcity of food stuffs. He will observe who are the different Princes through whose territories it is necessary to pass, their forces, their governments and their respective interests. He will have with him the Waquil whom M. Chevalier intends to reside with the Emperor and Najaf Khan. He will send his itinerary and his observations to Bengal by the surest route".

Perhaps some unforeseen difficulties prevented the execution of these projects of exploration, because there is no reference to them, either direct or indirect, in the records of the Pondicherry Archives. In the same year, 1778, Montigny arrived in India, being sent out by the French Government on a Diplomatic mission to explore the possibility of drawing up an anti-English coalition in India, preparatory to the despatch of a French expeditionary army. Montigny's first task was to go to the Imperial Court, and in concert with Madec to follow up the proposals of a military alliance made by the Mughal Emperor and Najaf Khan. In a letter to de Bellecombe from Ujjain, dated September or October 1778, Montigny writes:⁴

"At the time of starting from Surat I counted on meeting M. Madec here or at Delhi, and on the way I learnt that he had left about ten months back for Pondicherry, where he had arrived (already). I had to hand over to him a letter from the Minister, in which he was told that he should confer with me on the subject of a memorandum which he had sent to the Court and take necessary measures. I was also charged with clarifying the Tatta affair. Taimur Shah, the Prince of Kandahar, seized this beautiful country from the Great Mughal about 30 years ago, and there he enjoys an absolute sway. 19,000 Persian troops whom he has in his pay, that is to say the best troops in Asia, defend this dismembered part of the Mughal Empire. I have already realised it to be an indiscreet project, upon some true particulars which I received from an inhabitant of the country, who left me nothing more to desire in this respect. I had already the honour of telling you that but for contrary winds I would have gone to the place according to the orders I had received, but that not being able to land at the mouth of the Sind (Indus), I had made up my mind, in order not to lose any time, to push on my journey up to here".

In a letter dated 10th or 12th June 1779 Montigny writes to Baudouin, Secretary to the Minister of Marine:⁵

"Do not count on the Tatta affair, which is the most foolish project that has ever been submitted to the Government. Tatta on the Indus is a dismembered part of the Mughal Empire, and has been for 30 years in the possession of Taimur Shah, king of Kandahar, who has 150,000 men of the best troops under his orders".

⁴ Doc. No. 5518, Catalogue des Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde Française, VI.

⁵ Doc. No. 5325—Catalogue des Manuscrits des Anciennes Archives de l'Inde Française, VI.

The most detailed criticism of the Tatta project is contained in Jean Law's "*Mémoire sur l'Inde*" (1780).⁶ It was addressed to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, and was intended to help the French Government decide on a practical plan of operations in India. It is a very long document, containing an account of the political condition of India, the military strength of the English, a detailed criticism of Chevalier's Tatta project, and finally a plan of military operations against the English. We are here concerned only with that portion where Law criticises the plan of Chevalier. Chevalier's plan in brief was as follows:

A strong French squadron was to start from the Isle of France with 6,000 regular troops and 2,000 negroes, and was to arrive on the Malabar coast in September. The first move was to be the destruction of the English fleet and the capture of Bombay and Surat. Afterwards the French troops were to be transported to the province of Tatta which could be conquered easily. Leaving the negroes and the locally levied sepoys to maintain order in the newly won territory, the main force of 6,000 men was to proceed to Delhi to join the Imperial army. At Delhi there could be raised 10,000 sepoys and 6,000 cavalry to be trained in the European fashion. In December the French forces, combined with the 80,000 men of the Imperial army under the command of Najaf Khan, were to swoop down on Bengal, where, according to Chevalier, there were only about 2,000 Englishmen and 15,000 sepoys.

Chevalier certainly presents a very silly picture, and he must have intentionally overlooked many obvious flaws in the plan which others, less shrewd and less well versed in the intricacies of the Indian situation, could not have failed to observe. Law in his "*Mémoire*" criticises the plan on the following grounds:

(1) Chevalier thought that his main army of 6,000 men would remain intact, and he did not take into consideration the losses to be sustained in the course of the capture of Bombay, Salsette and Surat and of the conquest of the province of Tatta, as well as through illness. Then the army would be diminished still further by the necessity of having to keep suitable garrison in all the conquered places.

(2) According to Chevalier the French forces were to arrive on the Malabar coast in September, and he allowed only three months time for the conquest of Bombay, Salsette, Surat and the province of Tatta, the march of the army from Tatta to Delhi, and the levying and training of new troops there. In December the combined forces were to march on Bengal. In fact, the least time to be taken by all these would be 15 months. But during this period the English would not be sitting idle. They would surely raise new troops and try to obtain the alliance of some of the country powers.

(3) Even if French forces could reach Delhi from Tatta, it was doubtful if Najaf Khan would in the long run decide to proceed with his whole army

towards Bengal, leaving the capital and the Imperial domains exposed to the invasions of Afghans, Sikhs, Jats and Marathas. Moreover, the prospect of a strengthening of the authority of the Emperor in alliance with the French was likely to unite his nominal vassals like the Nawab of Oudh and the Nizam of Hyderabad to oppose the revival of old Imperial pretensions. Considering the policy of Najaf Khan it was more reasonable to expect that he would try to utilise the French troops for securing more firmly and extending as far as possible the dominions directly under the rule of the Emperor rather than for attacking the English position in Bengal.

(4) Chevalier unduly minimised the financial costs involved, and he hoped to be able to defray the major part of the expenditure from the booty to be gained from the captured English possessions, and principally from the revenue of the province of Tatta. But the military operations were likely to be more protracted and involving more expenditure than Chevalier thought. Not much revenue could be expected from the province of Tatta all at once, since it would take a very long time to conquer it completely and establish peace and orderly government. Far from expecting any financial help from the Emperor, it would be necessary for the French in order to gain his alliance to pay him a large sum of money, as Najaf Khan actually demanded of Chevalier; and then this money would be spent not for French interests but solely for the interests of the Mughal Emperor.

On these grounds Law dismissed Chevalier's project as wholly impractical and not conducive to French interests, and gave his own plan of military operations against the English. The criticisms of Montigny and Law led to the final rejection of Chevalier's project by the French Government, for when two years later an expeditionary army was sent out to India under the command of Bussy, the military operations were directed entirely on the Coromandel coast, and no attempt was made to land troops at Tatta.

GOVERNMENT'S RIGHT TO LANDS BELONGING TO DISPOSSESSED PROPRIETORS

By Nandalal Chatterji

As India's land system is now a subject of topical interest, it would interest the present-day reader to know how shortly after the Mutiny the revenue authorities of Oudh proposed a line of policy in regard to the disposal of villages to which no one could establish an unquestionable proprietary right.

Among the old district records of Lucknow, there is a file of 1868 containing some valuable particulars in regard to this subject.

The Financial Commissioner's Circular, No. 47-3305 of the 4 June 1868 divides this class of cases into:—

- (1) Villages settled at the last or both summary settlements with the hereditary zemindars but which had not been in their possession within the twelve limitation years from 1844 to 1856, or for many years previously.
- (2) Villages in which the malguzars of the last or both summary settlements had no original proprietary title, but which had been held by them more or less continuously prior to annexation of Oudh.

The existing orders on the subject were contained in the following circulars:—

Settlement Ruling III

Settlement Circular 46, 1864

Financial Commissioner's Circular of 1865, No. 1534.

Financial Commissioner's Book Circular of 1865, No. 16.

The Financial Commissioner cancelled the above circulars and laid down the following general principles on which cases of the kind under reference were to be decided:—

- (1) When a village was decreed to Government on the ground that the hereditary zemindar had never held as proprietor in the twelve years preceding annexation, the Settlement Officer could submit such proposals as might appear to him proper.
- (2) If a rival claimant proved twelve years' continuous possession the Government right might be waived.

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- (3) If the claimant be a taluqdar. this apportionment was to be made by giving him the superior proprietary right, and making a sub-settlement with the old proprietor.
- (4) If no such adverse possession were proved, the village might be bestowed on the old zemindars without the demand of any payment by them for this concession.
- (5) No village was to be assigned to others, if it could more properly be retained by Government.
- (6) If a malguzar proved twelve years continuous possession, if not clear proprietary right, it might be thought advisable to waive Government's right.
- (7) When dispossessed hereditary proprietors were allowed to purchase back their lost rights, only a moderate sum was to be demanded, say from 1 to 5 years' revenue authoritatively fixed.
- (8) Such resettlement could be made only after the passing of a decree affirming the proprietary right of the Government.

The final orders were that "officers will, in making proposals regarding these cases, consider each on its individual merits, and exercise their own judgement".

GEN. DE BOIGN'S ENDOWMENT OF TWO VILLAGES TO A MUSLIM SHRINE

By A. Halim

I contributed an article entitled "The Aligarh Diary" to the Jaipur Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held last year, in which I pointed out, among other things, that the name of Gen. de Boign's Aligarh wife was Mihrunnisa. This time, in connexion with the work of Regional Survey (of unpublished Records), of the Aligarh Branch, affiliated to the U.P. organization of Regional Survey Committee, I came across, by sheer accident, a very interesting and at the same time a very valuable record, dated 1210/1795, being an endowment of two villages in the out-skirts of the city of Koil-Aligarh,¹ to the shrine of Shamsul-Arfin Shah Jamal, a mystic and holy man who flourished in the days of the Khilji and the early Tughlaq Sultans. Shah Jamal has been mentioned in the list of holy men, by Maulana Abdul Haq Haqqi of Delhi, in his famous *Akbar-ul-Akhiyar*.² Some two years back, I acquired for the Muslim University Library, a number of farmans and parwanas, endowing villages and arable lands to the shrine of this holy man or to the members of his family, from the time of Akbar onwards. The descendants of Shah Jamal who live in Aligarh, still draw the revenue and rents from the village of Jamalpur, which is a very flourishing and populous village, north of the city and close to the Muslim University. The fact is this that every conquering authority in Aligarh, whether they were the Jats, the Mahrattas or the Rohillas, confirmed the century old privilege, and allowed the descendants of the Shaikh to draw on the revenue of most of the endowed villages. The only striking point is this that only two villages out of the past four, are included in the endowment. The rest might have been sold off or mortgaged by the descendants of this holy man, or usurped by occupying authorities or encroached by the public following periods of political upheaval.

I presume there is hardly any student of history who is not acquainted with the activity of General de Boign in India. Even readers who are denied access to the french biographies, for one reason or the other, can have a sufficiently fair idea, through Compton's *A Particular account of the European military adventurers of Hindustan*, Baillie Fraser's *Military Memoirs of Lt. Col. James Skinner* or Capt. L. F. Smith's *An Account of the Regular Corps Comman-*

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¹ Koil, the present name of the old city, is a corruption of Kol.

² *Akbar-ul-Akhiyar*, Litho Edn., p. 45.

ded by Europeans in the service of the Native Princes of India, (Calcutta, 1805.) Benoit de Boign, son of Piere la Boigne (b. 1751) of Chanibery in Savoy entered Madho Rao Sindhia's service in 1787, Commissioned to raise two infantry battalions of 850 men each after he had served in Irish Brigade in France (1769-71), in the Greek army commanded by the Russian Admiral Orloff, under the English East India Company at Madras (1778-80), the Rana of Gohad and the Rajah of Jaipur. Encouraged by the success attained by these battalions in the battle of Lalsot (1787) against Partab Singh Rajah of Jaipur, in Chaksana (near Agra) against Ghulam Kadir Rohilla and at Agra against Ismail Beg Hamdani, the Mughal noble, Madho Rao, now in possession of the whole of the Doab, with his two northern Indian flanks stretched to Delhi and Agra, commissioned de Boign in 1790 to augment the two battalions into a full brigade of 10 battalions of a thousand men each, officered by Europeans of diverse nationalities. His pay was raised from one thousand to four thousand rupees, and to secure regular pay to his troops he got from Madho Rao the assignment (*Jaidad*) of 52 Parganas of the Doab with a net revenue of 22 lacs of rupees per annum which de Boign's good management raised to 30 lacs. He was also to receive a 2 p.c. commission on the *Jaidad* revenue raised. His pay was soon raised to Rs. 10 thousand per month. His brigade inflicted murderous defeats on the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur, in the battles of Patan, Ajmer and Marta (near Jodhpur), as the result of which the Rajas of both the places became vassals of Sindhia. In 1791 de Boign established his headquarters in Koil, a place commanding valuable strategic position being midway from Delhi and Agra, in the centre of the Doab, and strengthened its fortification as also of the fort of Aligarh situated about 5 miles to the west of the city, and built extensive cantonments beneath the walls of its [city's] ramparts. During the same year (1791) he recruited a second brigade of infantry (under Col. Perron), and the third brigade two years later (under Major Sutherland). During 1793, he humbled Tukoji Holkar's pride, by inflicting a crushing defeat in Lakhairi, in which 38 guns of the Holkar were captured and all his European officers including Dudrenec were either slain or wounded. Posterity owes a debt of gratitude to de Boign for the initiative he took for preserving the Taj. "To de Boign", observes Compton³ "belongs the honour of having initiated that wonderful system that took root and grew with fata' rapidity of an exotic. He created for Madhoji Sindhia the first complete army of regular troops, employed by the native princes of the country." The example was soon followed by the Nawab of Avadh, the Nizam, Tipu Sultan, the Rajput, Jat and Mahratta princes. The instrument of Madho Rao and Daulat Rao's greatness was de Boign, or in other words, his infantry brigades. According to Grant Duff⁴ following Skinner's Memoirs⁵ "his army consisted of 200 pieces of artillery of all calibre. He had in

³ *A particular account of the European military adventurers of Hindustan*, p. 63.

⁴ *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. II, p. 35.

⁵ Ballie Fraser, *Memoirs of Skinner*, p. 76.

addition, regular infantry which rose to 18 thousand regulars, 6 thousand irregulars, Najibs and Rohillas, 2 thousand irregular horse, and 600 Persian cavalry. This last body was mounted, clothed, armed and disciplined by de Boign to whom all the horses of it belonged." His pay was equal to that of an English Viceroy of India, for in addition to 60 thousand rupees per annum he drew from commission of the *Jaidad* revenue. the gifts and presents he received from princes and feudatories must have amounted to a very huge figure. At the time of his departure to Europe *via* Calcutta he required 4 elephants, 150 camels and hundreds of wagons under the escort of 600 cavalry guard, to carry his effects. He could carry cash worth 400,000 pounds to Europe.

In Aligarh de Boign lived in regal pomp, holding court, issuing orders, riding elephants, and moving under the escort of cavalry guards. But like most of the European military adventures of the day he was in diet habits and in dress (outside the military costume), a typical Indian. He had a secluded oriental harem. The extent to which he was influenced by Indian habits is evidenced by his retention of the Aligarh Khansama who remained the major domo of the household till the end of his life. Twining, visiting de Boign in Koil in 1794, writes, "Dinner was served at four. It was much in the Indian style, pillaw and curry variously prepared, in abundance; fish, poultry and kid; the dishes.....were in fact a banquet for dozen persons although there were no one to partake of it but the general and myself. An elephant ride followed dinner. The next morning after breakfast, the general asked for his chillum (hookah). His little four years old son dressed as the child of an Indian Prince was brought in..." Dr. Ram Babu Saxena in his European and Indo-European poets of Persian and Urdu⁶ informs that de Boign had two Indian wives, one Halima Banu (anglicised into Helen Bennet Begum) the daughter of a Persian colonel and the mother of two children who lived in Delhi, and another wife who lived in Aligarh. Supposing that Mihrunnisa was the name of his Aligarh wife, as has been shown by me in my "Aligarh Diary," how can his young son by another wife be found in his Aligarh house unless he had a harem of the Skinner type? Till now I have not come across any source leading to the multi-wife theory. De Boign was a very humane soldier and a very benign administrator. The observations of Captain Smith⁷, an officer under him, in Sindhia's service, are very pertinent. "De Boign is formed by nature to guide and command. He is a tolerable Latin scholar and reads and writes and speaks French, Italian, Persian, Hindustani and English fluently. He is an attractive observer of the manners and dispositions of men, affable and good humoured but resolute and firm. On the grand stage he has acted a brilliant and important part for these ten years; he is dreaded and idolized. Latterly the very name of de Boign conveyed more terror than the thunder of his cannon. His justice was common

⁶ Page 13.

⁷ An account of the Regular Corps.

and singularly well-proportioned between severity and mildness...He possessed the art of gaining confidence of both princes and subjects, acting and persevering to a degree only to be conceived or believed by those who were spectators...he continued at business of the most varied important character, from sunrise to mid-night without any European assistant.

"He raised the power of Sindhia to a pitch that chief could never have expected or seriously hope for, and fixed it on the basis of a powerful, well-disciplined and well-paid army. Daulat Rao Sindhia now possesses the largest and the best-disciplined troops that were under a native prince."

The translation of the deed of dedication which is the theme of this paper, is as follows. A copy of the Persian text is given in the foot note⁸.

'The Amils (revenue collectors) of the present and the future of the Pargana attached to the district capital of Kol, in the jurisdiction of the vicegerency of Akbarabad (Agra) should know that, Inayat Ullah, Kuzim Ali, Ghulam Medhi Sher Zaman, and other Shaikhzadas (sons of holy man), having made a request to the effect that the villages of Jamalpur and Dhulahra, dedicated to the shrine of the model of the traveller of the *sufi* path, and the cream of the knowing, with their *Imlak* and gardens, situated in the rural areas, townships and villages of the stated Pargana and their *Aimmas*, have been fixed from old times,

⁸ Text of the Farman (Persian).

Cœl 12nd Jamaidsany. 1210.

San Faselli, 1223.

Bt. de Boign.

حضرت شاه جمال شمس العارفين قدس الله سوره
 عاملان حال واستقبال پرگنه حويلی کول مضاف صوبه
 مستفرد خلافة اکبراباد بدانند - عنایت الله و کاظم علی و
 غلام مہدی و شیرزمان وغیرہ مستخدم زاده التماس نمودند کہ موضع
 جمال پور و دھولہرہ نیاز درگاه قدوة السالکین نهدۃ العارفين
 املاک و باغات واقعہ سواک قصبہ و دیہات پرگنہ مسطور و ایہ
 در وجہ مدد معاش شایع و سادات و قاضی سردار خان افغانان
 وغیرہ و حکیم جیو و مغول وغیرہ مسلمین و ہندو و جمہور انام
 از قدیم الایام مقرر است و ہمیشہ یافتہ آمدند - درینولا بدستور
 سابق مصدقہ رفیق مبارک مسلمان حضرت قدر قدرت معاف و
 مرفوع القلم نودہ شد - بوجہ مزاحم منشدہ موافق معمول
 واکزارنہ - کہ بدعائی دولت ابد پیوند موظف باشند - در این
 باب تاکید اکید دانستہ حسب الارقام بعمل آرند -

Mahratti version in next 11 lines.

موقوفہ ۱۲ جمادی الثانی سنہ ۳۸

and have continued so ever since, as the '*modad-i-mash*' (maintenance allowance) of the holy men, the Syads, Qazi Sardar Khan, the Afghans, Hakim Jiu and the Mughals, Muslims of such description and the Hindus and all created beings. Meanwhile, in accordance with the past affirmed practice (these) be considered as the holy and benevolent properties of the pre-destinating power of his lordship and absolved from (revenue) payments. They (Amils) should on no account molest them; they should forego their customary perquisites, so that by the blessing of the eternality touching court (of the saint) they might be ordained. In this respect, taking it as an urgent order (they) should act as written." The Persian version is followed by a Mahratti one in *Modi* script, as was the case with documents executed under the 'Double Government' of the Mughals and the Mahrattas. Still below, the bottom bears a line pointing to its execution on the 12th Jamadi II, in the 38th Regnal Year. The margin in the right bears a remark in broad character "Mutli shudah", (has been informed). The top contains signature in de Boign's own handwriting, in the manner shown in the foot-note, Coel 12nd Jamaidsany 1210 (24th December 1795).

San (year) Faselli, 1223(?)

Bt. de Boign"

A little below at the right hand is affixed de Boign's seal as "Karnail (Colonel) Dubain itmad-ud-daulah Shamshir-Jung Bahadur 1208" in Persian script in pictorial *Tughra*.

On the reverse side, there are three endorsements, all bearing the date, 12th Jamadi II, 38th regnal year, made on behalf of various daftars. On the other end of the same, there are five entries of 1886, containing the remark "Mutli shud" (has been informed) on account of the deed being presented before a law court.

The points worth noticing in this document which is tantamount to a farman are, that Hindu kings continued a charitable endowment to the shrine of a holy man belonging to the other community. Secondly it proves the extent to which the Itmad-ud-daulah exercised his authority in the assigned Parganas. He did not require formal sanction either by the Emperor or Daulat Rao Sindhia for such a small matter as the gift of two villages, whereas only seven years later, Gen. Perron, his successor, had to take the sanction of the Emperor and Sindhia at the same time for acquiring 50 bighas of land for a garden house in the village of Bhamola⁹. Thirdly, in the seal bearing the date 1208/1793, which is older than the deed date (and resignation date) by about 2 years. de Boign assigns to himself the

⁹ Both the documents have been discussed by the writer in a paper entitled "Aligarh memories of Perron," in the Aligarh Brochure of the Indian Historical Records Commission, December, 1943.

rank of a Colonel (Karnail) and not a Jernail (General), which was his rank according to Skinner as soon as he was recalled from Lucknow in 1790 and commissioned to form a full brigade on a salary of rupees four thousand per mensem. It may be due to de Boign's humility or it may be that the rank of a general was conferred after the formation of the third brigade in 1793. Fourthly an interesting thing in the date of the seal, that is 1208H is that, the last figure, that is, 8 is exactly written like Roman 8 which is never so in Arabic numerals. It reflects on the knowledge of oriental script of the designer, who appears to have been the general himself, for we know on reliable testimony that he had no European to assist him. Capt. Smith's verdict on his oriental learning is to be taken with reserve. Fifthly, the value of the document is heightened by its containing the signature of de Boign and as such it has a unique position among records. There cannot be the slightest doubt of its genuineness. It appears from the signature that the General signs his name as de Boign and not de Boigne. Supposing there is an 'e' at the end, it cannot be pronounced in French as de Boign without pronouncing the last vowel, in which case it becomes de Boigney. However, I cannot say too much in this regard on the basis of a single autograph. Sixthly there are some very common errors in the Persian draft; sometimes singular nouns and pronouns are used instead of the plural form. This may be due to both the versions being prepared by the same hand—perhaps a Mahratti clerk, less regardful of Persian idioms. It also reveals the religious side of his character. The man who founded hospitals and asylums in his native towns, could not be expected falling short in this charity. Lastly it must be remembered that this document is one of the last public acts of the general, having been executed, signed and endorsed by the various officers, on the same day that is 12 Jumadi II, 1210 corresponding to the 24th December 1795, which is a day earlier than his departure from Koli, on Christmas day, 1795¹⁰. That the matter was pending for a long time and was gone through in hurry is proved by its completion in one day, a rare thing under any government. The document has been acquired for the National Archives, Government of India.

¹⁰ Compton, p. 95.

MAJMUA-E-TAWARIKH BEDAR, A RARE PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT

By Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava

Sometime ago I had the good luck of acquiring a rare Persian manuscript of unique historical importance from a notable Kayastha family of Lucknow. It is entitled *Majmua-e-Tawarikh Bedar*, and contains 98 folios that is 196 pages, measuring 10" x 8" with closely written matter of 17 lines to a page. The style of the writing though semi-shikast, is beautiful and the work was completed in 1120 A.H. The copy in my possession seems to be the original copy of the author. I haven't come across a second copy of this work anywhere in India. Nor am I aware of the existence of any other copy in any foreign country.

The author, Sanath Singh, a resident of Sikandarpur in Gorakhpur district of Avadh, was endowed from his boyhood with a poetic turn of mind and wrote poems under the *nom de plume* of Bedar; but his father forbade him to indulge in what he looked upon as a frivolous pursuit. After his father's death, however, he, then at an advanced age, resumed his literary activity. He was instructed by Shaikh Muhammad Azim of Gwalior in the art of literary composition and equipped himself for a literary career. He came into contact with some other celebrities of the time, such as Khwajah Muhammad Nasir, who was the author of several works, the well-known poets Mir Dard and Siraj-ud-Din Arzoo and others. His poems and chronograms were appreciated by Shaikh Muhammad Zuber of Sarhind and other literary men. Sanath Singh was desirous of presenting his chronograms in a book-form, but the death in Shaban, 1194 A.H. of his eldest son Jewan Lal who was a promising young scholar and a collaborator with the author in his literary labours not only prevented him from fulfilling his desire but also drove him into retirement. Abandoning his ancestral home, he travelled to Murshidabad where at the request of some friends, especially his relative Sunder Singh, he produced the present work and gave it the name it bears. The author deplores the absence of patronage of learning in his day and says that while the kings and nobles of the past bestowed magnificent rewards on authors of ordinary chronograms and on poets and scholars, nobody cared for them in his age.

Majmua-e-Tawarikh Bedar is primarily a book of chronograms, most of which are borrowed from old standard works of well-known authors of the Mughal age. To them the author has added many dozens of chronograms composed by himself, these latter dealing with comparatively recent events that took place between 1184 and 1200 A.H. As usual, many of the chronograms commemorate the dates of birth, marriage, and death of notable personages of the

Before joining the Agra College as Professor of History and Political Science, Dr. A. L. Srivastava was serving the Punjab University as the Professor of History till the partition of India. He is a Corresponding Member of the Commission and has to his credit works on the first three Nawabs of Oudh.

time. The author has, however, luckily preserved the memory of some of the common people, to be more precise, the middle class men, who filled a useful, though not spectacular, role in the history of the time. The chronograms reveal the altruistic outlook and philanthropic generosity of a considerable number of this class which formed the progressive section of the society even in that decadent age and of which Raja Tikait Rai, who rose from an humble position to be the Dewan of Asaf-ud-Daulah, seems to have been a shining example. Until now only a dim tradition and broken fragments of his buildings had served to keep alive the memory of his public spirit, but none had any precise idea of the philanthropic activity of this middle class notable. Two years before he was ennobled with the title of "raja" by Asaf-ud-Daulah, he had built two *pakka* tanks and he signalised the year of his rise (1193 A.H.) by laying out a public garden (*vide* pp. 83 and 110). Next, he excavated a public well in the same year. These were followed by another tank and a bridge in 1200 A.H., and an arched gateway, a *baradari* (12-door building), a water canal and another garden. Finally, in 1200 A.H., he founded a town and named it Tikaitnagar. The raja continued his beneficent activities even after the completion of *Majmua-e-Tawarikh Bedar*, as an extant mosque and a tank and a *bawali* (a well with steps leading to the surface of the water) built by him in the vicinity of *mohalla* Katra Khuda Yar Khan at Lucknow testify. The *Majmua* furnishes us with a record of similar activities by other public spirited men that have been ignored by other writers who have silently passed over incidents of social and cultural importance and confined their attention to the happenings in the courts and on the field of battle. Another special feature of this work is the attention it has given to the growing sympathy between the Hindus and the Muslims way of life, and a movement towards a synthesis of the two cultures. It had become a common practice in that age to offer congratulations and *mubarakbad* to rulers and Muslim nobles on the occasion of the Hindu Festivals of Dusserah, Dewali, Basant and Holi and this work gives many poems and chronograms presented on the above occasions to Muhammad Shah, Shah Alam, Intizam-ud-Daulah, Imad-ul-mulk, Shuja-ud-Daulah, Asaf-ud-Daulah and Muhammad Raza Khan of Bengal (pp. 50—56). Hindu notables received congratulations on the two Ids, Nauroz and Shab-i-barat. Thirdly, the book gives due prominence to the poets, important incidents of whose career, such as birth, marriage, promotions and death are duly mentioned. Nor does the *Majmua* altogether avoid mentioning political incidents. In fact, it has happily taken note of such military campaigns as the reduction of the fort of Basti by Shafi Beg Khan Chakledar and the conquest of Garh Amethi by Raja Beni Bahadur which have not been recorded by any other historian. The chronograms of the dates of the circumcision (pp. 38-9) and the marriage (p. 44) of Asaf-ud-Daulah's son show that Sir John Shore's finding that Wazir Ali was not the late Nawab Wazir's son as he had none, was based on political prejudice. A close study of such a work is sure to add materially to our knowledge of the history of the period covered by it.

SOME CORRESPONDENCE OF MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH

By Sardar Gānda Singh

On January 20, 1942, Princess Bamba Sutherland, the eldest daughter of Maharajah Duleep Singh, the last King of the Punjab, in response to my request for any historical documents that she might have in her possession, was pleased to let me have some correspondence of the Maharajah bearing on his relations with the British Government in India and England. It contained twenty-four letters, both issued and received. These, added to a number of letters that I had collected from other sources, throw a flood of fresh light on the history of his life after the annexation of the Punjab, and deal with the following topics:—

(i) Disillusionment of Maharajah “that he had been cheated out of his kingdom, and out of the private estates which his father had possessed.”

(ii) Details of the ancestral private estates and property that he had inherited from his father, not as ruler of the kingdom of Lahore, but as a Sardar and head of the Sukkar-chakkia family.

(iii) The Maharajah's differences with the British Government in England and India on the interpretation of the terms of the Treaty of March 29, 1849. in respect of—

(a) the confiscation of his private estates, jewels, and other property, of which there is no mention in the Treaty, and

(b) the amount of pension payable to him.

(iv) Restrictions as to the place of his residence in India after he had decided to leave England for good and settle down permanently in India.

(v) His arrest and detention at Aden without a warrant, and his public renunciation of Christianity in favour of the faith of his ancestors.

Disillusionment of the Maharajah

The kingdom of Maharajah Duleep Singh was annexed to the British dominions in India on March 29, 1849. by Lord Dalhousie in consequence of the so-called Second Sikh War of 1849-49. The Maharajah was then only ten and a half years old, having been born on September 6-7, 1838 A.D. and had been since December 16, 1846, a ward of the British Government whose agent, the British Resident at Lahore, actually ruled the kingdom on behalf of the British Government. The treaty (of Bharowal) of December 16, 1846, had placed full and

A scholar of Sikh History, Sardar Ganda Singh has unearthed many papers of great historical importance in the possession of old families in the Punjab. He is a Corresponding Member of the Commission and Professor of Sikh History, Khalsa College, Amritsar.

final authority in all matters, civil and military, in the hands of the British Resident. Under Article 2 of the Treaty a British Officer appointed by the Governor-General had "full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State." Under Articles 7 and 8 the Governor-General was responsible for the preservation of peace in the kingdom of the minor Maharajah and could accordingly post British troops at Lahore and could even place forts of the kingdom at the disposal of these troops for maintenance of peace or for the security of the kingdom. Hence for the failure of peace the guardians of the minor Maharajah, the British Governor-General and his Resident at Lahore should be held to account, and not their ward. Yet the imperialistic considerations of Lord Dalhousie thrust the war on the minor Maharajah and deprived him of his kingdom and all the private estates.

He was then removed from the Punjab to Fatehgarh in U. P. Brought up under Christian influence, he embraced that religion on March 8, 1853, eighteen months before he attained the full age of sixteen years. On April 19, 1854, he left for England. Throughout this period, and up to 1860 when he came to India to see his mother, Maharani Jind Kaur, he was entirely ignorant of his political relations with the British Government, of the circumstances under which he had been removed from the throne of the Punjab and deprived of his private estates, jewels and other property. Whatever might have been said by the political propagandists to give her a bad name, the Maharani "was a person of some accomplishments . . . being skilful in the use of her pen" and possessed a wonderful ability "to act with energy and spirit." With her presence in the Punjab Lord Dalhousie felt he could not easily deprive her son of his kingdom and of his private estates and properties. Therefore, she had to be removed from her country and put in prison. And when Brigadier Mountain informed him of the anxiety of the Sikhs for her restoration, Dalhousie wrote to him in a private letter from Camp Ferozepur, dated January 31, 1849: "The pretences of the Sikhs of their anxiety to get back the Ranee . . . are preposterous. And the more sincere they are, the stronger are the grounds for not acceding to them. She has the only manly understanding in the Punjab; and her restoration would furnish the only thing which is wanting to render the present movement truly formidable, namely an object and a head. Trust me this is no time for going back or giving back or winking an eye lid."*

With all the information that Maharani Jind was able to give her son while in India, and during her stay in England, the Maharajah seems to have been disillusioned and set athinking about the treatment that he had received at the hands of his guardians. The influence of the mother on her son was soon felt by the Government in England and the Maharajah was prevailed upon to arrange for a separate house for her. But after her death on August 1, 1863, the Maharajah assiduously devoted himself to the study of the causes of his deposition, and collection of material about his private estates and property. He consulted his friends and legal advisers, and made representations to the

* The original of this autograph letter is in possession of the writer of this paper.

Government. But with the passage of time the attitude of the Government of India, and consequently of Her Majesty's Government in England became stiffer and stiffer. This resulted in the desperation of the Maharajah towards the end of eighteen seventies. Writing in 1839, Col. G. B. Malleson says:

“When I next saw him, about ten years ago, he told me he was the most miserable. His words were to the effect that subsequently to Col. Oliphant's death he had discovered that he had been cheated out of his kingdom, and out of his private estates which his father had possessed, and that he could get no settlement from the India Office; that he still hopes that he might ultimately succeed, but that the treatment he had received had well-nigh broken his heart.”

By the beginning of eighteen eighties he discovered that he could expect no justice from the Government. He, therefore, ventilated his grievances through the press. The Maharajah's two letters published in *the times* of August 31, and September 6, 1882 gave a brief but clear analysis of the unfortunate circumstances which led to the confiscation of his private estates and properties. The letters were in the nature of appeals to the sense of justice and humanitarianism of the British public but failed to evoke any effective sympathy. A detailed and comprehensive account of the Maharajah's claims is culled below from the correspondence in my possession.

His Ancestral Private Estates and Property

Maharajah Duleep Singh's father, Maharajah Ranjit Singh, was anointed with the tilak of Maharajaship in 1801, when he was acknowledged by all the important Sikh Sardars and Missaldars, and prominent Hindu and Muslim notables of the country, as their monarch. Before that he was only a Sardar or head of the Sukkar-chakkia Misal like his father. Sardar Maha Singh, and grandfather, Sardar Charat Singh. All the estates inherited by Sardar Ranjit Singh from his ancestors, or that came to him by marriage or were otherwise acquired by him up to that date, or that fell to him by later marriages, were his private property like any other movable and immovable property. All this Maharajah Duleep Singh had inherited as the acknowledged head of the Sukkar-chakkia family on the death of his brother Maharajah Sher Singh on September 15, 1843.

When the Government of Lord Dalhousie annexed the territories of the Punjab in 1849, and deposed Maharajah Duleep Singh and exiled him from the Punjab, the Government quietly took possession of his private estates, knowingly or otherwise, and amalgamated them with the territories of the State. It also confiscated most of his property in jewels, household furniture, wearing apparel, harness, fowling pieces, and personal arms, armour, ornaments and miniatures of his father and brothers and the ornaments and wearing apparel of his mother, step-mothers and sisters-in-law.

But, strange enough, the Secretary of State for India denied the existence of any private estate at all. The Maharajah, therefore, wished to come to

India to obtain exact particulars of the lauded estates which he had inherited. But in reply to his letter of September 15, 1882, he was told by Lord Hartington in his letter of October 23, "that it is impossible that permission will be accorded you to visit the Punjab." He, therefore, wrote to his cousin Sardar Thakar Singh Sandhawalia for this information. In reply to the Maharajah's interrogations, Sardar Thakar Singh wrote to him a lengthy letter on November 9, 1883, giving him some details of the history of the family and a brief list of the estates of Sardars Charhat Singh and Maha Singh, and those of Maharajah Ranjit Singh before the kingdom of Lahore came into existence, and of the private estates of his deceased brothers, Maharajahs Kharak Singh and Sher Singh, and nephew, Kanwar Nau-Nihal Singh.

The list of property compiled by Sardar Thakar Singh is divided in three parts:

Part I includes the jageers (a) of Sardar Charhat Singh in the Bist Jullundur Doab, the Bari Doab and to west of the river from Shahdara to Rawalpindi, except Wazirabad, Gujrat, Manchar, Sialkot and Jammu. The annual income, besides the salt mines income, was about Rs. 15,00,000; (b) of Sardar Maha Singh—Besides the above mentioned territories, the country to west of Rawalpindi up to Margala, along with some parts of the Rachna, Bari and Bist Doabs including Jammu, Shakargarh, and the pergannahs of Behrampur, Dinanagar, Indora and Pathankot. The annual income, besides the salt revenue, amounted to Rs. 40,00,000; (c) of Sardar (Maharajah) Ranjit Singh before his assumption of sovereignty—Besides the abovementioned jageers, Lahore, Kasur, Sialkot, Wazirabad, Manchar and Gujrat, with an annual income, amounting to Rs. 55,00,000, in addition to the proprietary rights of all waste lands, forests, etc., and the lands, and also the Mulkia rights of the Jageer villages; (d) of Maharaja Kharak Singh before being raised to the throne—Kalanaur, Narot, Fatehgarh, Numomar, Jalalabad Jattan, Sheikhupura and some villages in the vicinity of Pind Dadan Khan and other parts of the kingdom, with a total annual income of Rs. 12,40,000 and articles from Multan and Kashmir worth 3 lakhs annually; (e) of Prince Nau-Nihal Singh—Fatehgarh, Jund Bugdial, some pergannahs near Peshawar, and some villages in other parts of the kingdom, with a total income of Rs. 4,30,000 and articles from Multan and Kashmir worth 2 lakhs.

Besides these estates, all the Maharanis of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his sons and grandson held separate jageers, which had also been confiscated with the exception of very small portions of land and pensions left to their dependants and relatives.

Part II includes the immovable property in lands, gardens, wells, buildings, etc., inherited by Maharaja Dulcep Singh in the villages of Wacen Pween, Sukkar Chak, Majitha, Raja Sansi, Dalipgarh, Shahzadapura and the town of Gujranwala, with musoleums of the Maharajah's ancestors, father, brothers, nephew and other relatives and houses, gardens, etc., in the cities of Lahore

and Amritsar, and in the towns of Tarn Taran, Shekhupura, Dinanagar and Fatehgarh.

Part III includes a list of the movable property in jewels, etc., worth over 24 lakhs belonging to the stepmothers of Maharaja Duleep Singh and to the issueless widows of his brothers and nephew, which should have been rightfully secured for him by his British guardians but which, through their negligence, if not with their connivance, had either been taken possession of by unauthorised persons or otherwise squandered away.

But the Maharajah and his solicitors do not seem to have been satisfied with these details. They were neither complete nor clear. Sardar Thakar Singh had only given a rough idea. He could not make a full enquiry. Not being in the good books of the Punjab Government he could not, therefore, have access to its official records. For several of the jageers he could give practically no information at all. And he had written to the Maharajah in his above quoted letter that "A precise and full account of these jageers can be obtained from Deena Nath's Office, and from Government Secretariat. These jageers were very large in amount."

It was at this time that Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State for India, in his letter of November 14, 1883, desired the Maharajah to specify more exactly than he had so far done the Estates to which he considered himself entitled. As the information supplied by Sardar Thakur Singh without any official documentary support, was not, considered authenticated enough to stand the scrutiny of legal experts, Messrs. Ferrar & Co., of Lincoln's Inn sent Mr. Talbot, a solicitor, to India on behalf of the Maharajah to make a fuller and more authenticated enquiry. Mr. Talbot's enquiry, too, was limited by time at his disposal. He could visit the headquarters of only seven districts of the Punjab, viz., Gujranwala, Gujrat, Jehlum, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Lahore. "At each the revenue records of a number of villages selected from a list prepared beforehand were examined. If there had been more time, the Record Offices of other districts, such as Shahpur and Rawalpindi, would have been visited and the records of many more villages in each district examined."

The results of Mr. Talbot's enquiry were compiled into a "Statement as to the Ancestral Estates of the Maharajah Duleep Singh" and accompanied the letter that His Highness wrote to Lord Kimberley on March 10, 1885.

Having briefly explained his title to the ancestral private estates, the Maharajah says:

"As to these my private estates and property, I wish to point out to your Lordship that the British Government in taking possession of them must be held to have done so for my benefit, seeing that at that time they were my acknowledged guardians

"in August 1847 the Governor-General of India wrote to the Resident of Lahore as follows:—

'The Governor-General is bound to be guided by the obligations which the British Government has contracted when it consented to be the Guardian of the Young Prince during his minority.'

"The statement of property now sent is not exhaustive as time at the disposal of me was limited, but I trust it may be considered sufficient for the purpose of proving that such property did exist.

"Moreover I desire to say that in presenting this statement as to my rights I do not wish to insist in pushing these rights to their extreme limit, on the contrary, as I have stated on other occasions, I shall be satisfied with such fair and equitable compensation as shall enable me to carry out my plan of living in England upon the landed property purchased in my name in Suffolk provided that I am placed in possession of a sufficient income to enable me to do so without pecuniary embarrassment and in conformity to the high position to which I was born and which was confirmed to me by the Treaty of Lahore in 1849 and again personally assured to me by Her Majesty the Queen when I first took up abode in this country, and provided also that my eldest son and other children are secured in their just inheritance after my death."

His differences with the Government—(a) regarding the confiscation of his private Estates and Property.

Having proved the existence of his private Estates and property at the time of the annexation of the kingdom of the Punjab in 1849, the Maharajah contended that the Government of India could not rightfully take possession of them, amalgamate them with the State territories or otherwise alienate them. They were the ancestral property of his father before he assumed the rank of kingship. There was no mention of their confiscation in the Treaty of annexation. There are only two articles, 2 and 3, in that treaty which refer to the transfer of his property to the Government. Article 2 says that "All property of the State, of whatever description and wherever found, shall be confiscated to the Honourable East India Company in part payment of the debt due by the State of Lahore to the British Government and of the expenses of the war." The words "Property of the State" are quite significant and unambiguous. Out of the private property of the Maharajah, it was only the gem Koh-i-Noor that went to the Government and that too was surrendered by the Maharaja to the Queen and not confiscated or otherwise taken possession of by the Government (Article 3).

"This shows that the Koh-i-Noor, and consequently also the other jewels and personal property of the Maharajah, were not considered to be state property. Notwithstanding this, with the exception of some of the value of £20,000 which he was permitted to take to Futtchgarh, and which were destroyed there in the Mutiny, the whole of the Maharajah's personal property and

jewels of every description were taken possession of by the Government at annexation."

Writing to the Marquis of Salisbury, the Prime Minister of England, from Suffolk, on January 16, 1886, the Maharajah says:

"This document makes no mention of a confiscation of any other property save that of the State. The inevitable result, therefore, is that all property not coming within this category is excluded from it—in other words, that it was not even contemplated by those who dictated the terms of my deposition that my private manors or estates or jewels or personal property were to be touched. It may further be remembered that this result of the treaty is confirmed by the explicit provision made with reference to the destination of the Koh-i-Noor. If it was designed to confiscate any of my other private possessions, the names of these would also surely have been set forth. Even supposing that the confiscation of my private property could be vindicated by this document, I ask your Lordship to consider the exceptional position of responsibility which the British Government had assumed to myself. They had made me their ward, and their ward I was to remain for five years after the treaty of 1849. They had already failed to secure for the Punjab the peace and order which they had guaranteed to maintain by the Treaties of 1846. The Second Sikh War, as it is incorrectly styled, placed me under no fresh obligation of any kind to England. On the contrary, that war was largely due to English remissness."

His differences with the Government—(b) regarding compensation for private Estates and property, and the amount of pension payable to him.

It is not possible to make an exact estimate of the value, nay even the annual income of the ancestral estates of the Maharajah. Excluding the jageers of the Maharanis, Sardar Thakar Singh roughly estimated the annual income of the other jageers as 77 lakh and 70 thousand rupees. He gave no idea of the value of the immovable property in the villages and towns mentioned in Part II of "the list of the Property". Of the movable property mentioned in part III, he estimated the property of only two Maharanis at Rs. 7 lakhs and 50 thousand.

According to Mr. Talbot's Statement, the annual income of the villages enumerated by him was Rs. 2,04,994. 8½ annas or £20,499-9-0, "and this would". says the introductory chapter to the Statement, "if the enquiry had been complete have been raised to a very much larger sum. That of the salt mines is about 40 lakhs of rupees, or £40,000 per annum, and the Government valuation of the land in the possession of Government belonging to the ancient Kutra of Maha Singh at Amritsar is Rs. 78,949 or £7,849-18-0 (taking the rupee at 2 sh. in each case). The value of other Kutra in the same city has not been ascertained."

On the subject of the Maharajah's movable property and jewels, other than what he was allowed to take to Fatehgarh, Mr. Talbot directed an inquiry to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, but no information was furnished to him. Mr. Talbot, therefore, omitted all reference to the subject, though the Maharajah did not relinquish his claim to such property.

Taking the lowest available figures of Rs. 42,05,000 per annum quoted by Mr. Talbot from the official records of the Punjab Government, about the correctness of which there can be no doubt whatever, the total amount which was due to Maharajah Duleep Singh and which went to the treasury of the British Indian Government year after year for 36 years from 1849, when the Punjab was annexed, to 1885 when the Maharajah submitted his claim, works out to Rs. 15,13,80,000 or £15,138,000.

Added to this was the amount realised by the Government of India, by the sale of jewels and other property belonging to Maharajah Duleep Singh which were put up to auction by Messrs. Lattey Brothers and Mr. J. Hayes at Lahore in the years 1850 and 1851. After much search, in vain, in several quarters, the Maharajah was able to get copies of the catalogues of only two sales. Of these the first is headed "Catalogue of the Seventh Public Sale," so that there must have been six previous sales, the second, two months afterwards, appears to be final sale.

No record has been found of the sum of money realized by these sales, and it is not possible at this distance of time, and with only two out of several catalogues to refer to, to ascertain, even approximately, the value of the property thus sold, but it is evident that it must have been enormous. The only facts obtained as to the prices realized by the sales are that 95 items of the second catalogue realized Rs. 1,39,287. There are 952 items in this Catalogue, so that it seems probable that the whole purchase-money amounted to upwards of Rs. 10,00,000 or £100,000. As there were, at least, seven other sales, it would not be very extravagant to put the whole sum realized by the property at half a million of money.

"It is hardly necessary to observe that it is highly improbable that sales by auction at.....Lahore could have realized the full value of property of valuable nature, especially as so many sales were held in so short a time.

"Independently of the money value, it may well be asked what right the British Government could have to dispose of historical heirlooms belonging to the Maharajah, who was its ward, whilst he was an infant, without even asking his consent, considering the exceptional interest he would have subsequently experienced in the possession of his father's portrait and personal accoutrements when he came to years of responsibility and full maturity."

The grand total of the amounts due to Maharaja Duleep Singh up to March 31, 1885, comes to at least Rs. 15,63,80,000 or £15,638,000.

But in spite of all this, the Government gave no compensation to the Maharajah. It was only for his losses at Fatehgarh during the Mutiny that the Government offered an amount of £3,000 which he refused to accept.

Now about the amount of pension payable to him. Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore of March 29, 1849, had provided that "His Highness Duleep Singh shall receive from the Honourable East India Company for the support of himself, his relatives and servants of the State, a pension of not less than four, and not exceeding five lakhs of Company's rupees per annum."

The payment actually made to the Maharajah were as follows:—

From 1849 to 1856—£12,000 per annum.

1856 to 1858—£15,000 per annum.

1858 onwards—£25,000 per annum.

Besides the payments of the Maharajah, allowances to relatives or dependants to the extent of about £18,000 (at the commencement) were made by the Government and debited to the Maharajah. These allowances began in 1849 and were continued during the lives of the recipients. As each recipient died, his allowance of course ceased, so that in 1859 the annual amount paid appears to have been reduced to about £15,000 and dwindled rapidly. According to the Maharajah's estimate in January 1886, "the amount paid is not more than £4,000 or £5,000 per annum." He claimed that the undisbursed balance, which went to the Government exchequer and accumulated there, belonged to him and should be placed at his disposal. The Government on the other hand contended that he was entitled only to such a portion of the pension as was allotted to himself personally as mentioned in article V of the Treaty of March 29, 1849.

The Government, however, indirectly accepted the contention of the Maharajah, as when, in 1862, the Government advanced to the Maharajah "a sum for the purchase of an estate, the advance was not in excess of the Government savings." But there was a change for the worse after that, and the Maharajah had to pay interest at the rate of 4 and 5 per cent. on advances made to him later on for the purchase of property in Suffolk. But the Maharajah felt worst hit and most unjustly treated when Government decided that no son of his would inherit the Elvedon (Suffolk) Estate and that his settled estates were to be sold free and money divided amongst his children. And in the words of the Maharajah, "the only allowance reserved for my widow and children is to come out of the money realized by the sale of my estates in England, of my insurance moneys, and of the sum of £72,000 East India Stock." (Maharajah's letter to Lord Salisbury, January 16, 1886).

After referring to the honour and kindness that he received from Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and the admission of the justice of his claims by the highest representatives of the British State, the Maharajah thus concludes his lengthy letter of January 16, 1886, to Lord Salisbury:

"All this has led to no satisfactory result in my favour in a material sense; and I find myself now compelled, in consequence of the insufficiency of my income, to break up my home, interrupt the education of my children and to leave England.

"Not to weary your Lordship by a longer recital of my grievances, I will come to the object of this letter in a few words.

"There are wrongs which can and those which cannot be remedied.

"I do not aspire to be reinstated on the throne of the Punjab.

"I do not even expect the realization of the whole of what I consider my just claims.

"Moreover, I am not now asking your Lordship to admit any of my claims, though it has been necessary for me to explain them to your Lordship to make my meaning clear.

"I know also that your Lordship, not being now the Secretary of State for India (though you formerly held that office) is not in a position to deal with a question of finance belonging to that department.

"But I address your Lordship as the Prime Minister of this great country in a matter which was considered at one time to be of national importance, and which concerns the honour of the parties concerned.

"If the subject of my complain were a difference between private individuals, it could be settled in the law courts, but being a matter of State, I am advised that the courts of this country are not open to me.

"I ask your Lordship, therefore, to exert the influence and authority of your high position to provide some machinery for examining and dealing with my claims, and putting them in train for equitable settlement. It cannot, I venture to think, be more satisfactory to your Lordship's mind than it is to my own that the Government should remain under the imputation of having arbitrarily deprived even an individual no more important than myself of his rights, without inquiry and without redress.

"A fair and honest inquiry, by the highest legal authorities in your Lordship's House, I think, is due to me, especially as to the residue of the pension over and above the £25,000 a year paid to me, which has now lapsed, and should be paid over to me (as a very high legal authority thinks after reading the Treaty very carefully).

"I need not say that I court the fullest legal investigation and should much desire a decision by a Court of Arbitration consisting of the eminent Law Lords of the House of Peers.

"I shall be willing to be bound by the equitable award of such a Court if they take my whole case into their consideration, and to accept it as a satisfactory termination of all my differences even if it should turn out to be unfavourable to my expectations.

"I make this last appeal to your Lordship before finally taking leave of this country."

The Marquis of Salisbury set up no Court of Arbitration in response to the appeal of the Maharajah, and the Foreign Office sent to him the following reply on January 25, 1856:—

"Sir,—I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to inform you that he has carefully considered the memorandum which you were good enough to place in his hands, and also the printed book which he herewith returns. He regrets very much that he is not in a position to accede to the request with which your memorandum concludes.

"Subject to any appeal to a court of law which you may be advised is open to you, the disposal of all questions involving any charge upon Indian finances is placed by Act of Parliament in the hands of the Secretary of State for India and the Council of India, and cannot be assumed by any other authority.

"The determination of the question raised by you with respect to the meaning of the Treaty entered into by Lord Dalhousie thirty years ago, and import of the words "Property of the State" used upon that occasion, could not be satisfactorily arrived at by any authority in this country even if there was one which, under existing law, possessed the necessary competence, and I have no doubt that the Secretary of the State and his Council have both the power and the wish to arrive at a just decision in regard to these controverted matters."

Restriction on his residence in India

But the Secretary of State for India he had already tried. There was no hope of justice left for him. Disappointed and helpless, he ultimately decided to leave for India. But while the Government of England allowed him to break his home and wind up his affairs in that country, the doors of his mother country were closed to him by the British Government in India. The restrictions placed on the residence of Maharajah Duleep Singh in India have a history of their own dating back to 1849. Article V of the Treaty of annexation had laid down that "His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour... provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government, and shall reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select." The Maharajah had not yet completed the ninth year of his age that his mother, Maharani Jind Kaur, was removed from Lahore and confined in the fort of Sheikhpura on August 19, 1847. Nine months later, in May 1848, she was removed from the fort of Sheikhpura to the fort of Chunar in U.P. Within nine months after the annexation of his dominions the Maharajah himself was exiled from the Punjab on December 21, 1849, and taken to Fatehgarh in U.P. While yet a minor, he left for England in April 1854.

The Maharajah wished to return to India in October, 1857. He, therefore, addressed a letter to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company on December 9, 1856, saying:—

"Gentlemen,—Having now attained an age at which, according to the Laws of India, I am entitled to assume the management of my own affairs, and being

anxious before my intended departure for India in October next to have everything relating to my future position clearly defined and settled, I have to request the favour of you, at your earliest convenience, to bring the subject to the notice of the Honourable Court of Directors.

* * * * *

“There are, nevertheless, certain restrictions as to residence imposed upon me by treaty which, however prudent at the time, are now, in my altered circumstances, felt to be irksome.....”

To this the Secretary, Mr. James C. Melvill, replied on February 19, 1857, as follows:—

“I am commanded to state in reply that the Court have observed with great satisfaction the excellent disposition manifested by your Highness during your stay in England, and are prepared to relieve you from all restriction as to residence.”

‘ But the mutiny of 1857 upset his plans.

In 1860 Maharajah Duleep Singh came to India to seek his mother, who had escaped from her captivity in the fort of Chunar to Nepal and had been permitted to meet her son. The mother and son met after thirteen long years. The Maharani had suffered much; her health was hopelessly impaired and had become almost blind. The Maharajah wished to stay with her in India for some time. He could not do so. Even the Maharani was not permitted to reside in India. The Government of India refused to restore her private property, chiefly in jewels, which was in their hands, unless she chose a place out of India for her residence. Ceylon was mentioned as the nearest place which would be permitted. This caused the Maharajah to return to England, with his mother who would not separate from him.

Maharani Jind Kaur died on August 1, 1863. She had been a fond and faithful mother to him. In fulfilment of her last wishes “not to allow her bones to rot in a heartless country (merian haddian is nirdai dharti ‘ch na rul jan)”, the Maharajah wished to carry home the remains of his mother. In reply to his request of January 9, 1864, for permission, he was told by the India Office, London, on January 13, that “on your arrival in India it will be necessary that you should regulate your movements in conformity with the wishes and instructions of His Excellency the Viceroy, which will be communicated to you, in the first instance, through the Governor of Bombay.” The Maharajah was helpless. He was not allowed to come to the Punjab to perform the obsequies of his mother. He, therefore, cremated her body, which he had brought all the way from England at great expense, at Nasik, on the left bank of the Godavari, and returned to England.

In 1882, the Maharajah, as we know, wished to visit India to collect information regarding his private estates, and he wrote to the Marquis of

Hartington on July 21, saying:—

“I presume, as I am now a naturalised Englishman, there is no legal difficulty to my returning to the Punjab, either to get information regarding my private landed estates, &c., or to reside there altogether.”

The Marquis in his reply of October 23, 1882, not only repeated the restrictions of January 13, 1864, but added “that it is improbable that permission will be accorded you to visit the Punjab.”

In the summer of 1883, the Maharajah finally decided to leave England for good. He had lost all faith in the British Government. He had become a naturalised Englishman and he had been relieved “from all restriction as to residence” by the Court of Directors of the East India Company on whose behalf the Treaty of 1849 had been entered into with him by Lord Dalhousie who had imposed the restriction. Yet he was condemned to perpetual banishment from his mother country. The resistance of the British Government to his desire intensified his wish not only to return to the land of his birth but also to the faith of his ancestors.

“On August 23, 1884, he announced his departure for India, as he could not otherwise undergo all the rights of re-initiation as a Sikh.” If he continued to stay on for some time more and placed his claims before the Earl of Kimberley, the Secretary of State for India, and the Marquis of Salisbury, the Prime Minister of England, in his despatches of March 10, 1885, and January 16, 1886, respectively, it was evidently to exhaust all constitutional means available to him for an equitable settlement of his differences before quitting the land of his adoption.

On April 21, 1885, the Maharajah begged of Lord Kimberley “to inform the Government of India that it is my intention to join the British army as a volunteer, should unfortunately a war break out between England and Russia. I am determined not to be deterred from this resolve (unless physical force is employed by the India Government), and to convince the British nation that, however unjustly treated, I am at heart loyal to my gracious Sovereign.” However, the Maharajah did not pursue the subject “as fortunately the threatened war seems to be averted for the present. I desire to inform your Lordship and the Council of the India Board, that I am by no means prepared to give up my rights as a British subject, or to submit to any restrictions upon my movements, either here or in India, or any other portion of Her Majesty’s dominions.

“My present wish and intention is to sell my estates in Suffolk, for the reasons already stated to Her Majesty’s Government. and to take up my residence at Delhi, retiring to the Hills in the hot season.”

Writing to Lord Randolph Churchill at the India Office on October 7, 1885, the Maharajah told him “I am leaving England, for my position here has become untenable owing to various reasons, in order to provide my family with such a home in India as shall not be sold at my death.”

On the same day the Maharajah wrote to his cousin, Sardar Sant Singh of Aima, Amritsar district, saying "I shall leave England on the 16th December next and take up my residence quietly at Delhi for I am poor now.....As you are aware by this time that I have rejoined the faith of my ancestors, I salute you with Wah-Gooroo jee dee Futteh."

But as Lord Churchill also had required him in his letter of October 15 to obey the orders of the Viceroy regarding his residence, the Maharajah, on October 20, desired "to be informed whether force will be employed to compel me to reside wherever the Viceroy of India shall appoint, and prevent my travelling without His Excellency's permission, or whether my freedom and rights as a British subject are under the protection of Law, and what would be the consequences of my refusal to comply with the arbitrary dictates of the Viceroy or of His Majesty's Government: In reply he was informed by Lord Churchill on October 26 that it rested with the Viceroy of India.

Fearing lest the British Government should be suspecting his object in returning to India, the Maharajah again wrote to Lord Churchill on November 2, 1885:—

"I further desire to state that.....my object in leaving England is to provide such a home for my descendants as will not be sold after my death, and by economy and other modes to make the best provision I can for them during my life with the resources at my disposal, and that on reaching Bombay I will proceed to Delhi with that intention, leaving it to His Excellency the Viceroy to employ force, if he thinks proper to do so, in order to prevent my travelling to that city.

"But it does not say much for the supposed stability of the British Raj when the Government think it necessary to impose restrictions on the movements of such as I, who neither possess any army or money to cause any trouble with."

On November 30, Lord Churchill informed the Maharajah that the Government of India required him to reside at Ootacamund or some other place in the Madras Presidency, "and that Your Highness will not be permitted to visit the Punjab."

The Maharajah had an interview with the Earl of Kimberley on February 8, 1886, and assured him, as he confirmed it in his letter of the 10th, that "My sole object in returning to India is to lay by money for my family, while myself fully enjoying the comforts I have been accustomed to all my life, and Delhi presents the best field for the purpose." But nothing could make the British Government in India take a humane and sympathetic view of the helplessness of the Maharajah. And ultimately, much against his will, but in the interest of his family be consented to live at Ootacamund.

On March 9, he wrote the following letter to his cousin, Sardar Sant Singh of Aima:—

"My dear Sardar jee, Wah Gooroo jee dee Futteh. I am very pleased to receive your letter, but I advise you not to come near me without permission of Government as you might get into trouble with the authorities.

"I intend to leave England with my family on the 31st of this month, but it is possible a little longer delay may occur.

"I need not tell you how pleased I shall be (if the Government permits) for you to be present at my receiving 'powhl' which I trust my cousin Thakar Singh Sindhanwalia will administer to me.

"I am now longing to return to India although Government are afraid to let me reside in the North West Provinces and desire me to live at Ootakamund, but I put my faith entirely in Sutgooroo who, now that I return to him for forgiveness, I know, will not forsake me."

His next available letter that he wrote before sailing for India is addressed to his 'beloved countrymen', the people of the Punjab. It is a well-known document described by the British Government as a "seditious proclamation". It plainly ventilated his grievances against the British and announced his resolve "to take the Pahul again". But this was like the red rag to the bull.

His arrest at Aden

The Viceroy, it appears, had no intention of allowing the Maharajah to return to India. The talk of restrictions on his movements was only a ruse to dissuade him from his intended departure from England. But as he could not otherwise be thwarted, he was arrested and detained at Aden and was ordered to go back.

The Maharajah was naturally furious at the insult put on him. He threw in the face of the British Government the pension he had hitherto drawn, left his wife and children in their hands to support, and abjured his allegiance to the British Crown. On his way back to Europe he issued a statement to the press wherein, among other things, he said that though a naturalised Englishman he was arrested without a warrant and that when a warrant was issued he had already reverted to the faith of his ancestors. He pointed out in this press message that the British Government in England had offered him £50,000 in full settlement of his claims but which he had declined. He was proceeding to Central Europe for recouping his health and quite wittily remarked that if with the hospitality of Russia he would attempt an overland journey to India perhaps "the whole of the British army" and the assistance of the Afghan Amir would be invoked "to resist the coming of a single individual."

SHAH ALAM II AND ZAMAN SHAH

By Kalikinkar Datta

It was known to us so long that some of the Indian rulers, chiefs or nobles like Wazir Ali of Oudh, Nawab Nasir-ul-mulk of Murshidabad, Tipu Sultan of Mysore,⁽¹⁾ and the unfortunate Imperial Prince Mirza Ahsan Bakht, discontented on account of the revolutionary political changes in India during the second half of the eighteenth century or badly affected by vicissitudes of fortune, sought the alliance of Zaman Shah, ruler of Kabul (1793-1800), against the English East India Company. Opinions are divided on the point as to whether the invasion of Hindustan by Zaman Shah had then any reasonable chance of success or not. But there is no doubt that the prospect of it "kept the British Indian Empire", as Kaye writes justly, "in a chronic state of unrest"⁽²⁾ in days of Shore and Wellesley. "From northern Oudh and from southern Mysore had gone forth", observes the same writer, "invitations to the Afghan monarch"⁽³⁾. Wellesley sought to "take the best precautions" against the apprehended invasion of Zaman Shah by forming "a general defensive alliance" with the Indian powers excepting Tipu⁽⁴⁾.

A few months back, I discovered in the National Archives of India⁽⁵⁾ some correspondence between Shah Alam II and Zaman Shah of considerable historical interest and importance. Shah Alam II's is indeed a highly tragic career in Indian History, as due to a number of uncontrollable circumstances and also to some extent his personal failings he was driven from pillar to post and post to pillar till all his ill-fated attempts to restore Timuride glory and political supremacy in India ended in smoke. He solicited help in different quarters to meet with nothing but disillusionment and frustration.

We find from the correspondence studied here that the cruellest stings of adversity drove Shah Alam II to seek the help of Zaman Shah also, who, on his part, not only promised him necessary assistance to be relieved of the restraints imposed upon him but also deputed an ambassador named Ghulam Muhammad Khan to cement further the bond of mutual friendship. On the

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† Based on some unpublished records of the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

¹ Martin, *Wellesley Despatches*, Vol. I, p. 26.

² Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan*, Vol. I, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 2-3.

⁴ Martin, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 11-12 and pp. 26-23.

⁵ Political Consultations, 5th December, 1796, Nos. 20-22.

30th November, 1796, he received the following letters from the ruler of Kabul in reply to his previous correspondence with him:

(1) In the happiest of times, your Majesty's most friendly letter arrived and the communication of your Majesty's Sentiments tended to cement our union, with respect to what your Majesty was pleased to write of the decayed Splendor of the Empire in consequence of the State of degradation in which your Majesty yourself was involved and that you had now no faithful Servant who might use his exertions for the restoration of its prosperity that as for a great length of time your Majesty owed your prosperity to the care of this House you now likewise anxiously looked up to it for relief, Farther requesting that if we should signify our consent and resolve upon an expedition towards that quarter we should depute to your Majesty Shur (Sher) Mohammud Khaun and Surferauz Khaun, whose ancestors were the faithful servants of your Majesty and by whose exertions prosperity might perhaps once more return.

Whereas since the first emanation of the Splendor of this ever enduring Empire the Most perfect union of Interests has subsisted between us, and the affairs of your Majesty have been guided by the Counsels of the Ministers of this Empire therefore with the view to revive and confirm the former practice. We shall soon by the favour of God set out for that quarter or else depute the two persons above mentioned with a numerous army, and thereby emancipate your Majesty from the hands of those evil working infidels who impose restraint upon you; Let your Majesty's mind be in every respect at ease.

With regard to the betrothment of the person of rank (alluding to some negotiation of marriage between the families previously agitated) about which Abdul Ghuffer Khaun was written to and which was fully explained* as it did not appear expedient it has been postponed we have now deputed Ghullaum Muhummud Khaun to that quarter your Majesty will be pleased to consider what he may represent respecting the betrothment as authentic; and keep open the gates of Friendship by mutual correspondence.

(2) As the bonds of union and attachment between the two great States are firmly united and by the intercourse epistolary correspondence the System of harmony and friendship has ever been maintained we have deputed the Ambassador Ghullaum Mohammud Khaun with the account of our affairs and of our regard and esteem to your Majesty's presence; he will accordingly have fully detailed all particulars; The amicable and intimate connection between the two great States demands, that by transmitting the agreeable intelligence of your Majesty's welfare the accounts of your Situation and the occurrence of that Quarter, and by deputing intelligent Embassadors, you keep open the road of friendship and gratify our heart already impressed with Sentiments of perfect regard and attachment.

* It should seem from this that a clandestine correspondence has been carried on between the Courts of Delhi and Caubul which has not transpired hence the obscurity of this part of the letter.

Shah Alam II had nominated one of his sons, Mirza Akbar Shah, as his successor to the throne of Delhi and solicited Zaman Shah's assent to this arrangement so that the latter might not prefer to choose in this respect Mirza Ahsan Bakht, a younger brother of Mirza Akbar Shah who had repaired a few years back to the Court of Timur Shah, father and predecessor of Zaman Shah on the throne of Kabul, and was till then in the territory of Zaman Shah. On the 30th November, 1796, Zaman Shah wrote the following letter to Prince Mirza Akbar Shah signifying his assent to the latter's nomination as his Heir Apparent.

(3) (After Compliments) Seeing that the prosperity of that illustrious house (meaning Shah Allum's) has been owing to the favourable attention of this exalted family, that of late thro' the favour of the most high the Throne of greatness has by our sacred presenee become the envy of the fourth heaven and that the hopes and security of far and near are derived from the light of our presenee the illustrious and trustworthy the Chief of Ministers, Shur Mohum-mud Khaun and the faithful Rehmet Ullah Khaun have represented to us, that the Empire of Hindoostan having long been despoiled by the Calamitous hand of Fortune and the concerns of that quarter fallen into disorder his Majesty Shah Allum has with the view to the due arrangement of affairs, the Splendor of that dominion and the Happiness of its subjects been pleased to nominate you his successor accordingly having been before informed of this Circumstance we in consequence of the request that was signified wrote a letter assenting to this disposition and now address you to repeat our acquiescence to the succession in your favour accordingly as a perfect union and attachment have from of old subsisted between the two great Empires, we now honour you with the rank of Heir apparent to his Majesty Shah Allum in order that at all times giving your attention to the arrangement and regulation of the affairs of that Empire the counsellors, Chiefs, and Captains may be subservient to your Commands and no one withdraw from his duty and allegiance towards you but continue submissive to your commands. A Khellant for the heir apparent-ship has already been dispatched by Ghullaum Mahummud Khaun you will honour by investing yourself with it and remain satisfied in mind—and believing that no difference or disunion of interests subsists between the two States at all times write accounts of yourself and communicate your sentiments.

RAJA JUGAL KISHORE'S DESPATCH REGARDING THE SACK OF DELHI BY NADIR SHAH

By Syed Hasan Askari

Sometimes important documents are found hidden in the pages of manuscripts which have little or no historical interest. One could scarcely imagine that a valuable despatch of Raja Jugal Kishore,¹ Sarwat, the agent of the Nawabs of Bengal and Bihar in the Imperial Court, would be discovered at the end of an old copy of Jami's well-known poetical work, *Yusuf Zulaikha*. Raja Jugal Kishore was an important figure in mid-eighteenth century politics and there are many references² to him and to his diplomatic services in the contemporary works. But little or nothing that emanated from his pen has come to light. The despatch, just referred to, is a unique document in that it is altogether unknown to scholars and in it we come across many new names and certain interesting things, especially the personal note struck by the writer and the service that he claims to have rendered to his master, the Nawab of Bengal. Considering what³ others say about the work of exactions and spoliation and regarding the part played by some of the nobles and also by Jugal Kishore in the nefarious transaction, the version of the latter who was an eye witness of most of the things he describes and had unique opportunities to obtain first-hand information about men and things is well worth consideration. The text of the long despatch⁴ with certain abbreviation and omission of its rhetorical portion is given below.

"The accounts of the events involving many in sudden afflictions which I sent for your information may be put in a nutshell. The luckless fools who

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¹ For a brief reference to his career see Beal and J. A. S. B. 1879.

² Besides what we get in well-known works there are new and important references to the Raja and his activities in Delhi Chronicle, *Dasturul Insha*, *Bayaz-e-Yusufi*, *Gulshan-e-Sadique*, etc. He appears to have represented Bengal and Bihar at Delhi from the time of Shujaud dola to that of Raja Ram Narain and was also the channel of communication between the Nawabs of Awadh and the Rohillas and Bangash Afghans.

³ *Bayaz-e-Yusufi* contains the journal of an anonymous writer who was also an eye-witness and throws much light on the conduct of Jugal Kishore, *vide* my paper read at the Bombay session of I. H. C.

⁴ The manuscripts give a wrong heading "Journal of Nadir Shah's Transactions in India which Raja Jugal Kishore wrote to Shujauddin Muhammad Khan".

were wanting in forethought and circumspection occasioned a huge disturbance and excited the wrath of the Persian sovereign. As regards the particulars, the Amir-ul-umra was killed and Burhanulmulk was taken prisoner because, feeling afraid lest any fault on their part might cause the displeasure of their master, they, without taking time to collect their men and arrange their forces in order, advanced to face an army the men of which had for 16⁵ years known no difference between night and day and lived on a bare subsistence of baked wheat and barley. The Kizilbash chiefs had sent a few detachments equipped with swivel guns and muskets. They made the Indian nobles their targets and after disposing off the elephant-riders shot down the troopers. N. Asaf Jah had just set out to re-inforce them when the premier noble having received three gun shots became senseless and was carried back to the camp. He died after two days. The loss of two or three such nobles, the scarcity of grain, and the dread of the Kizilbashes broke the morale of the Imperial Army.

“N. Asaf Jah, on the advice⁵ of Burhanulmulk, went to the Persian emperor to offer his obeisance and negotiate terms of peace. It was settled that 3 crores⁷ would have to be paid by way of Nalbandi and the emperor of India would pay a visit to that of Persia. After solemn pledges Asaf Jah escorted his master, who was accompanied by a few attendants, to the camp of the Shahanshah where he was received with due respects and observance of the etiquettes of hospitality. After showing much warmth of affection the Shahanshah suggested that the Indian sovereign should stay with him during the night for friendly and sincere intercourse. But being alarmed Md. Shah put forward excuses and thus caused annoyance⁸ to the Shahanshah. As God so willed it, N. Asaf Jah, on the day following the death of the premier noble secured the post of Mir Bukshi and also his jagir and that of his brother, Muzaffar Khan, for himself and thus caused great disappointment to Saadat Khan. The latter, being deprived of his hopes of getting the coveted post and jagir, opened his tongue of folly and induced the august sovereign to occupy the throne for some time at the imperial metropolis and after realising peshkash from places far and near and from nobles and zamindars of the various parts do what he deemed to be advisable to instal Md. Shah firmly on the throne. He caused an inventory of his goods and effects⁹ worth 2 crores and some lakhs to be put down and after laying it before the Shahanshah represented to him that when he who had had no concern with the imperial affairs

⁵ Tahmasp Quli was the chief of a clan of Afshars who were a Turkman tribe. Rise 1720. Appointed General-in-Chief 1727. Proclaimed King 1732.

⁶ It was Saadat who suggested to Nadir Shah to call Asaf Jah “the key of the Empire of India” to negotiate terms of peace. See also B. W. and T. S. K.

⁷ “War indemnity settled at 50 lakhs”. Srivastav. Nalbandi or horse-shoe money was a light tribute.

⁸ Mohd. Shah stayed with Nadir Shah for two hours and he was unwilling to stay on till evening as suggested by Nadir Shah—B. W.

⁹ Compare Srivastav. “Saadat Khan had formerly agreed to pay one crore and made good thirty lakhs. He promised to send for the remainder from his Subah”.—Frazer.

and ruled over a country, bad and full of disturbances, could bring out so much from his house, that which could be realised from Asaf Jah who was the ruler of such a rich and populous country could very well be imagined. He also promised to collect 4 crores from the inhabitants of the metropolis and was, therefore, elevated to the exalted office of Vakil-us-Saltanat and was entrusted with the management of the imperial affairs. He was sent, along with Tahmasp Khan Jalair, the Vakil of the Persian emperor, to repair the fort and the Diwane Khas and Am for the reception of the conqueror. Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, the Subedar of Delhi, who had the ambition to become the Secretary-General to the Regent, made over the keys to Tahmasp Khan.

"In those days I was very anxious to preserve the eastern regions from the mischiefs of the enemies and was prepared even to sacrifice my life and that of my family members. I had not yet responded to the summons but managed to contact Mustafa Khan who was an elderly venerable, and capable personage but was excitable like his master. I pleased him by offering by way of presents of shawls, brocades and chints cloths worth about 20 thousand besides 5 thousand in cash. After a few days, as ordered by the Shahanshab, Md. Shah was carried on a portable throne with due respects and accompanied by Abdul Baki Khan, the Vazir and nobles like Isbaq Khan, Amir Khan, Javed Khan and Bahroz Khan. Having sent Yasawals¹⁰ and Nasakchis one kos ahead for supervision and management, the Shahanshab rode out on his horse towards Shahjahanabad. Residences on one side of the fort were prepared for Md. Shah and his Harem while¹¹ the Diwane Khas and Am and the garden of Hayat Buksh and others were prepared for the reception of the Shahanshab. Burhanulmulk, in association with Tahmasp Quli Khan, had erected within the course of a week elegant canopies over-hung by European and Roman curtains and with carpets spread on the ground near the Diwane Khas and Am. It was on the 9th Zilhijja that the fort was graced with the presence of the two emperors.

"A list had been prepared of the various quarters of the imperial city and of the rich people residing in them so that Peshkash might be levied from them. Through the grace of God, Burhanulmulk who had parted with cash in hand for imaginary gains and had not guessed what was to happen to him became a traveller to the region¹² of eternity. Nothing untoward happened up till the evening. As the men of the Persian army had spread out in the bazar, on a request being made, orders for their withdrawal were issued. As the royal command could not but be instantly obeyed Nasakchis immediately

¹⁰ Yasawals were horsemen attendants on a man or rank and Nasakchis were officers generally sent to regulate disorders and make seizures.

¹¹ B. W.

¹² It is significant that despite his ill concealed hospitality against Saadat Khan, Jugal Kishore says nothing about the suicide of the former. Ali Quli Khan Wala, Abdul Karim and many other contemporary authorities refer to his death by cancer.

effected their withdrawal. This gave a handle¹³ to the villainous, seditious wretches to noise abroad that some one within the fort had shot down the Shahanshah and installed Md. Shah on the throne. On account of such rumours a great tumult and uproar began and continued throughout the night and the people despairing of their lives prepared themselves for their doom. The Shahanshah did not have a wink of sleep for the whole night. Early in the next morning he rode out towards the Katra of Raushanuddolah and seated himself on its terrace. As it had been established that a number of Nasakehis and foreigners had been killed by the vagabonds of the city the fire of Shahanshah's anger began to burn and orders went forth for the destruction of men, women, children, horses, camels and other animals of the capital. As soon as the command was issued like a trumpet of Israil, the Kazilbashs advanced with scaling ladders in hand and jumped upon the balconies of the houses.

"As my house was very¹⁴ near and adjoined the walls of the Katra of Raushanuddolah, in the twinkling of the eyes, about 500 Kazilbashs appeared on my balcony and were out for the work of plunder and killing. I was certain that within a few moments no trace would be left of me and my dependants but God extended His grace to me and divine assistance delivered me from a disturbance which was consuming everything. Mustafa Khan who, on the preceding day had shown kindness to me on the recommendation of His Excellency Tahmasp Khan, showed further favours. On getting the news that he was coming to my house I proceeded alone¹⁵ amidst the tumult involving the indiscriminate slaughter of the Indians and through the mediation of Tahmasp Khan succeeded in presenting myself before, and performing my obeisance to the Shahanshah. I represented myself to be the Wakil of Shujauddoulah Afshar and said that as I was fortunate enough to be able to come there I had every hope of being favoured along with my family by the Shahanshah. Although a little while ago orders had been issued for a general massacre, the Shahanshah was gracious enough to direct Mustafa Khan to proceed to my house and protect my family and dependants. Saleh Beg, the keeper of the seal, was deputed to the task. Though he was such a big man Mustafa Khan himself came to my house and took out the Kizilbashs from there. A body of 50 Jazairchis was deputed with the keeper of the seal to keep watch.

¹³ This is a new version. Of course we are told by others that the Persians had spread themselves in the bazar and that Nadir had issued orders to prevent the soldiers wronging and molesting any of the inhabitants.—Frazer.

¹⁴ G. S. We get quite new information in this and other paragraphs.

¹⁵ B. Y. says, "Jugal Kishore, the Wakil of the Nazim of Bengal in the midst of disturbances and confused clamour of general slaughter met Nadir Shah and by offering 3,000 *ashrafis* and seven elephants secured his life and property and escaped from rapine and plunder." Note the variation in figure in the two versions.

“Nothing in the shape of money and effects was spared from the gate of the fort to Lahori Darwaza¹⁶ except those of my house. Men were killed, women were taken captive, and the houses were burnt down. This happened from Dariba up to the mansion of Qamruddin Khan and from Tripolia of the fort up to Kashmiri Darwaza. The number of those killed is beyond computation. Goods worth 2 lakhs of my shop and 50,000 in cash were either burnt down or plundered. Some pieces of cloth and ornaments and 4,000 gold mohars which were lying in my ward-robe remained safe. It was in the afternoon that orders for pardoning the survivors were issued. No trace of the population was left in the new city except in the Kucha of Rai Khushal Chand which was protected by the Nasakchis on my request. The houses of Sheikh Ababakra, Jiwan Das, and Bhikham Sen, the head Shroff and Katra of Alam Chand and other quarters were burnt down. Sheikh Jiv escaped but Md. Mohsin was wounded and the mansion of Imtiaz Khan was spared. Next day the Shahanshah was gracious enough to summon me and asked me to give an account of the money and effects which I was in possession of. An offer of 4,000 Ashrafis was accepted but I was ordered to pay 1,25,000 rupees. I accepted it but asked for time which was granted. The readiness I showed in this was appreciated. On the following day I offered 8 elephants and my request for sending letters to my Lord and master, and his son was also granted.

“The Shahanshah wanted to send a force to bring the Peshkash of His Excellency and his dependants which, according to the estimate made by Sarbuland Khan was to amount to more than 2 crores. I submitted ‘As Shujauddoulah is a loyal servant and belongs to the tribe of Afshar he would readily and honestly pay whatever he and his followers had within their competence and, therefore, there is no need of sending any force’. Through the grace of God my submissions were accepted but it was said that Saadat Khan had represented that treasures worth crores had been left by Jafar Khan. To this I replied without caring for my life. ‘The administration of Bengal Suba had been vested in Jafar Khan during the reign of Alamgir. From that time till now what was realised was sent to the imperial exchequer without any loss or diminution and there never was a complaint of a single particle of Government money being embezzled. All that remained after meeting the necessary expenses was honestly sent as Peshkash. Saadat Khan who remained in charge of Awadh for such a long time never sent even a Dirham from his Suba to the imperial treasury. He had appropriated to himself the Jagirs of nobles and Mansabdars and having killed many zamindars had accumulated much wealth. It was out of spite that he suspected Shujauddoulah of being in possession of crores. I am not representing anything which is

¹⁶ This bloody scene extended from the Sarrafa Urdui to the old Id Gah and on one side as far as Jitli tomb and on the other side as far as the Tobacco Mandi and Pul Mithai. The whole streets of the Bazars and the alleys and wards on all sides, the Khanum Bazar and the area round the Juma Masjid and the Cotton and Jewellers Bazars were all plundered. Several places were set on fire and whomsoever they found they put to the sword. Frazor Anand Ram Mukhlis says that fire raged in Chandni Chowk, Fruit Market, Bazar Dariba, and all around Jama Masjid.

contrary to facts and solemnly pledge my words that he and his dependants could not have more than 50 lakhs to spare. Somebody who might be sent to convey the gracious letters should be directed to investigate into the truth of my statement.' The Shahanshah was gracious enough to observe that my words had the air of truth and he added that as the intention of sending the force had been given up I should myself select somebody to convey his letters. This task was given to Yahya Khan, Mirmunshi but Md. Shah being unwilling to spare him, Murid Khan¹⁸ was deputed to this task. As it had been promised to restore Md. Shah to the throne the Munshies were ordered to write to His Excellency for sending the past and present dues of Bengal direct to the imperial exchequer and to remit the amount of Nalbandi by way of Peshkash, in proportion to his circumstances, to the Shahanshah. The latter was gracious enough to grant robes of honour and wearing apparels for His Excellency, the deceased,¹⁹ and Nawab Alauddoulah.

"In order to silence men like Sarbuland Khan who had other designs I delivered to the Sarkar articles worth²⁰ 2 lakhs for 50,000 rupees and thus put my enemies to shame. The facts about my labour and exertions and about my having incurred debts of lakhs might have been conveyed to you by Bhagwan Das.²¹ After Murid Khan had been granted leave to depart orders were issued to Sarbuland Khan and Azimullah Khan to submit their proposals about the Peshkash from the inhabitants of the city and I with my dependants²² were put under them. Sarbuland Khan being proud of his understanding began the work of collection and Azimullah Khan paid no heed to the conditions of the people and whatever he wished he set down from the registers of Jagirs and services in the name of every one and prepared papers which led to the ruin of many. Through his excessive heedlessness he failed to distinguish between those who were found and those who had gone out of sight. When orders were issued for preparing a list of all the wards and alleys, Sarbuland Khan did not show incompetence in his minute search..... but Azimullah Khan failed to point out the residential places and the exact valuation of the property. I, in two days, succeeded²³ in ascertaining as to who occupied which of the houses and this was appreciated. The Mirzas, in

¹⁸ There was an order made that Murid Khan with 50 of Sarbuland Khan's horsemen should carry a sarpech and firman to Shujaat Khan Subedar of Bengal and to take from 3 years' treasure and a Peshkash. Frazer.

¹⁹ On the 17th Muharrum 1152 Nadir Shah was informed of the death of Shujauddowla and the succession of his son Alauddowla.

²⁰ Jugal Kishore was assessed at 2,50,000 B. Y.

²¹ Perhaps he also carried a letter giving an account of earlier events. The Raja promises to send another communication.

²² Jugal Kishore was beat with stick and put to indignity by Tahmasap Khan. B. Y. and also Frazer.

²³ B. Y. says. "As Jugal Kishore was originally responsible for the assessment of the rich so the wicked Vakil is the focus of heartburning sighs and his crime is calling for justice and he is being cursed by all, high and low.

charge of the record office, laid down the rolls of estimates prepared by Sarbuland Khan and Azimullah Khan. The mean and sycophant fellows had written down 100 for one. Nizamul Mulk and Intizamudowla and Azimullah Khan and my humble self and thirty others, Hindus and Muslims, were summoned to the presence and each name was read out by Mirza Ali. An increase of one lakh was made in my Peshkash and 50 thousand was settled as the contribution of the poor helpless Nand Kishore. My Peshkars had to pay 8 thousand. Similarly the amount of the Peshkash of all was increased and a total of 2 crores 12 lakhs was laid down. This was divided into 5 parts for which Nizamul Mulk, Intizamuddowla, Sarbuland Khan, Azimullah Khan and Murteza Khan were made responsible. They had to deposit their collections within 15 days.

“That day-Majlis Roy, the Diwan of Intizamuddowla, who had deposited only 3 lakhs but about whom people said that he was in possession of crores, was examined, and was ordered to make an inventory of his master's property and give a *Muchalka* (bond). He was threatened that if there was the slightest deviation from the truth he and his women and children would deserve death. The awe-stricken Roy failed to give a satisfactory reply and although I gave him to understand that he should not refuse to give *Muchalka*, he did not mind it with the result that his ears were cut off in the presence of Intizamudowla. As in all these matters I was an object of attention I was graciously assured that favours should be shown to me. I said ‘from the day the robes and letters had been granted for Shujauddowla and Alauddowla, my desires have been fulfilled and I have offered thanks-givings for these blessings and am contented with my lot’. On this I was assured of further favours. Feeling encouraged I submitted ‘I, the child of your slave, was reared and educated by Khan-i-Dauran and feel weighed down by his obligations. I pray for the elevation of his son to Mansab and Jagir’. He was very much pleased and commended my fidelity. That very day Ihtisham Khan, son of Khan Dauran, was presented and recommended before Md. Shah.

“As my name was included in the collection roll of Asaf Jah I worked hard and realised²⁴ 15 out of 33 lakhs which he had to deposit. As the time limit was approaching Asaf Jah managed to collect the balance from his own house and those of Feroz Jung and others. Intizamuddowla did the same thing. Sarbuland Khan who was in charge of the collection roll of Churat and Vakil-pura²⁵ discharged his responsibility by taking recourse to whip and torture Murtaza Khan and Azimullah Khan were made responsible for 16 lakhs for they had set down 22 lakhs as contributions of Lutfullah Khan and Fakhrud-dowla but had failed to realise even 2 lakhs from them. Many houses were ruined. For instance, Majlis Roy, the Diwan of the Wazir, who had been asked to pay 15 lakhs by Azimullah Khan and Murtaza Khan could arrange

²⁴ B. Y. again refers to “shameless Vazir”.

²⁵ See Anand Ram.

for 9 lakhs and as he failed to pay the rest he killed himself. They realised²⁵ seven lakhs each from Hamarin, the Wakil of Burhanulmulk and the sons of Rai Khushlal Chand and 4 lakhs from Roy Nundh and his son. Despite these exactions 22 lakhs of the unrealised amount were allotted for the expenses of Md. Shah and Amir Khan was appointed to collect this amount. 9 lakhs were assigned to the members of the royal family, the particulars of which would be sent hereafter. In return for that Tahmasp Khan levied contributions, by using whips and other violent means, from the nobles and merchants of Katra Begum and from the Walashahis and the jewellers. Many of the Walashahis were killed and several fled away. 1 lakh 15 thousand out of 2 lakhs 17 thousand were realised and the balance was remitted at my request. The gold and silver that were collected amounted in value to 15 lakhs if the value of gold was 10 rupees per tola and that of silver 16 mashas for a rupee.

“On Thursday, Nizamulmulk and Intizamuddowla were granted rich robes. Out of the jewels which together with the peacock throne had been seized, jewels worth 70 lakhs were given back to Md. Shah. The latter came on his portable throne and was received at some steps from the Diwane Khas by the Shahansbah. The two sovereigns sat side by side on the same Masnad. Nizamulmulk and Intizamuddowla took their seats on the left side and Tahmasp Khan, Lutf Ali Khan and Mirza Zaki and Mulla Bashi and two or three other nobles sat on the right side (Here we get an account of entertainment, music and feasts). After the dinner carpet had been removed the Shahenshah placed the crown, decorated with the feather of an eagle, on the head of Md. Shah and tied an embroidered sword to his loin with his own hands and then addressed his Omrahs: ‘In view of the greatness of the Gurgani family I confirm the empire of India on my brother. It behoves you to withdraw your hands from misappropriation and improper expenditure and abandoning avidity and covetousness and scheming for acquisition of profits, you should direct your energies towards increasing the revenue and augmenting the military strength and remain devoted in the service of your master. If any one acts against the wishes of my brother and shows refractoriness I shall lose no time to return to chastise him even if I am in Room.’ Then he suggested how the king should regulate his life and laid down that more than 50 lakhs should not be spent on cattle, king’s victuals and royal rewards. Asaf Jah, Intimaduddowla and Sarblund Khan were not to draw more than 10. 8 and 6 lakhs respectively. As regards the other Omrahs they were to draw in all 15 lakhs. They were to keep 40 thousand troops out of which 10 thousands were always to attend the stirrups of the king and with the 40 thousand Nizamulmulk, Kamruddin Khan and Sarblund Khan were to march in different directions and towards the borders to chastise the refractory people. In the same way the Subedars and their equals were enjoined upon to regulate their conduct.

²⁵ Variations in figures in B. Y.

“On Friday Niaz Md. Khan Sherjung, and Hah Quli Khan arrived with 1 crore and 86 lakhs of Saadat Khan’s treasure which had caused the delay in departure. He was granted Khilat but his request for the province of Azimabad was turned down because of the excessive interest taken in me by His Excellency Tahmasp Khan and Mustafa Khan”

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INDO-SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE (1797-1819)

By Hari Ranjan Ghosal

While digging through the historical mines of the Government of India and the Bengal Government some years ago, I came across a mass of source material, which would throw welcome light on the little known subject of India's trade relation with South Africa at the end of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth. For a long time past India had a fairly regular trade with Mozambique on the south-east coast of Africa. But later on this trade became neglected chiefly owing to the growing up of a new trade between British India and the Cape of Good Hope almost immediately after the British occupation of that colony in 1796. Though the settlement was restored to the Dutch in 1802, it was re-occupied in 1806. So the direct trade with the Cape Colony, which came to an end in 1802, revived in 1806, and continued without much interruption until 1823-24. After that it fell off rapidly on account of the competition of British cotton manufactures which practically ousted Indian handicrafts from the Cape market. In the present paper I have attempted a brief survey of this trade during 1797-1819 on the basis of some manuscript records of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, supplemented by a few other documents found in the record-room of the Bengal Secretariat in Calcutta.

No. 1

1797: Letter from H. Moore to Secretary, Public Department, Dated 11 October.¹ The writer requests permission of the Governor-General-in-Council to send a ship from Calcutta to the Cape of Good Hope laden with sugar and piece-goods.

No. 2

1798: (a) Letter from Lord Macartney, Governor of the Cape Colony, to Governor-General-in-Council, dated 6 January². The following extracts from the letter are worthy of note. "His Majesty's Order in Council of the 28th of December, 1796 being before you. . . . I beg leave to mention to you what I conceive to have been the occasion of that part of it, which relates to the East India Trade with the Cape. The Company were apprehensive that if any but themselves or persons licensed by them were allowed to import goods here of the growth or manufacture of

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¹ Pub. Cons., 16 October, 1797, No. 13 (National Archives of India).

² Pub. Cons., 1 May, 1798, No. 2.

Countries to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, this settlement might become the depository, and means be contrived to re-export them clandestinely from hence to places, which are now provided with India Goods from their own Sales in Leadon Hall Street; they therefore wished to narrow and confine the trade of the Cape from India solely to the necessary supply of the Colony and to furnish that supply themselves. On this ground then, the importation and exportation of India articles here are prohibited to all but the Company, and those trading under their particular license for this purpose . . . ”

(b) Letter from John Pringle, Company's Agent at the Cape, to Governor-General-in-Council, dated 22 January.³ The writer urges the necessity of some plan being adopted for a regular supply of the articles required at the Cape, and requests that “Sugar of a good quality and some fine to the altogether of about two hundred tons” be sent from Bengal.

(c) List of Bengal goods for the Cape Colony.⁴

Patna chintz of several varieties	8,000 pieces.
Birbhum garzhs ⁵ (36 by 2½ cubits)	2,000 „
Double-breast Birbhum garzhs (30 by 2½ cubits)	3,000 „
Baranagore ⁶ handkerchiefs	1,000 „

No. 3.

1800: (a) Letter from Calcutta Board of Trade to Governor-General-in-Council, dated 2 May.⁷ Extracts:—“From the letter of the Court of Directors to Mr. Secretary Dundas quoted by Lord Macartney, it is clearly the desire and intention of the Court to keep the supply of the Cape with Indian Commodities in their own hands Further in their letter of the 5th June 1799, the Court repeat the same sentiments in regard to the supply of the Cape “directing that in future whatever Indian articles may be required for the consumption of that Colony, be sent thither according to such Indents as may, from time to time be received from His Majesty's Governor for the time being.”

³ Pub. Cons., 1 May, 1798, No. 4.

⁴ Pub. Cons., 1 May, 1798, No. 5.

⁵ A species of coarse Calico generally woven in the district of Birbhum.

⁶ A place about six miles north of Calcutta. It was an important centre of cotton manufacture.

⁷ Pub. Cons., 22 May, 1800, No. 15.

(b) Estimated account of goods to be supplied for the Cape Colony.⁸

	Pieces	Value Rs.
Patna chintz	2,000	36,750
Birbhum <i>garahs</i>	2,000	7,350
<i>Doosooties</i> (double thread cloth)	1,200	4,094
Cossimbazar Chintz	4,000	7,140
Cossimbazar <i>Bandcloes</i> ⁹	2,000	9,450
Cotton yarn . . . . .	...	2,953
Baranagore handkerchiefs	1,000	3,151
Benares sugar	6,000 mds.	39,000
Indigo	25 „	3,750

No. 4

1801: Letter from Secretary, Public Department, to Calcutta Board of Trade, dated 11 June.¹⁰ The writer informs the Board that a further supply of grain from Bengal to the Cape of Good Hope is “rendered necessary on account of the pressing necessities of that Colony.”

No. 5

1806 (a) Letter from Calcutta Board of Trade to Governor-General-in-Council, dated 22 April.¹¹ Extracts:—“. . . . On referring to the proceedings in this Department during the former period in which the Cape of Good Hope was in the possession of the British Government we observe that the Trade from India to the Cape of Good Hope was by an act of the British Government entirely confined to the Hon’ble Company or to persons licensed by them for that purpose. . . . We conclude that the same policy which prescribed those rules will influence the restrictions under which the commercial intercourse between this port (Calcutta) and the Cape of Good Hope will be in the future regulated. . . . We take the liberty to recommend that until indents shall be received from the British Government at the Cape of Good Hope of the articles required for the use of that settlement. Individuals be not permitted to export to the Cape of Good Hope any articles excepting grain. . . . ”

(b) Letter from Secretary, Public Department, to Calcutta Board of Trade, dated 24 April.¹² The writer informs the Board that the Governor-General-in-Council is of opinion that “until indents shall be received. . . . it would be proper to permit the exportation not only of Grain, but of supplies of provisions” on the part of individuals to the Cape of Good Hope.

⁸ Pub. Cons., 22 May, 1800, No. 16.

⁹ A species of silk piece goods.

¹⁰ Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 16 June, 1801.

¹¹ Pub. Cons., 24 April, 1806, No. 7.

¹² Pub. Cons., 24 April, 1806, No. 8.

(c) Letter from the same to the same, dated 12 June¹³. The writer informs the Board that the Governor-General-in-Council is of opinion that individuals should be permitted until further orders to export from the Bengal Presidency to the Cape Colony any description of goods, saltpetre excepted, subject to such rules and restrictions as the Cape Government may deem it proper to impose.

No. 6

1809: Letter from Calcutta Board of Trade to Governor-General-in-Council, dated 28 April¹⁴. The Board express the opinion that it would not answer to export teak timber and planks from Calcutta to the Cape "with a view to commercial advantage, unless either the prices of those articles at Calcutta should fall very considerably or their selling prices at the Cape should experience a proportionate rise."

No. 7

1812: Letter from Calcutta Board of Trade to Governor-General-in-Council¹⁵: The Board invite the attention of the Governor-General-in-Council to the enclosed copy of an application from Messrs. Palmer & Co. for permission to send the ship "Friendship" to the Cape of Good Hope "with a cargo consisting entirely of Rice and Timber."

No. 8

1816: Letter from Palmer & Co. to Chief Secretary to Government, dated 30 January ¹⁶: The applicants "request to be favoured with license from Government to ship on board the Brig Siren . . . about sixty whole chests of Tea for consumption of the British Colony at the Cape of Good Hope.

No. 9

1819: (a) Letter from Sub-Export Warehouse Keeper to Export Warehouse Keeper, Calcutta, dated 3 September¹⁷: The writer complains that owing to a dearth of importations from the moffusil the state of the piece-goods market is "very unfavourable to the supplying of clothes of a good quality or at a reasonable rate" for the Cape of Good Hope.

(b) Letter from Import Warehouse Keeper to Export Warehouse Keeper, dated September¹⁸: The writer informs the addressee that the Board of Trade approve of the calicoes indented for the Cape and of "five hundred bags of sugar being supplied to the Cape from the Company's stores", and desire that

¹³ Pub. Cons., 12 June, 1806, No. 12.

¹⁴ Pub. Cons., 5 May, 1809, No. 32.

¹⁵ Pub. Cons., 10 July, 1812, No. 28.

¹⁶ Pub. Cons., 3 Feb., 1816, No. 28.

¹⁷ Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Cons., 10 September, 1819.

¹⁸ *Ibid*

a selection of *amritis*¹⁹ be made from the invoice of fortyfive bales of sundry cloths received from Patna on 6 July for being exported to the same place.

It has been possible within the short space of this article to refer only to some of the available documents on the subject. And the present survey includes only the trade between the Bengal Presidency and the Cape Colony, though the other two presidencies had also some direct trade with the Cape of Good Hope. It is clear from the above account, however, that the inhabitants of the Cape Colony were largely dependent during the quarter century following British occupation of the Colony in 1796 for supply of foodstuffs and manufactured goods on India. Cotton piece-goods, grain and sugar were predominantly in demand at the Cape, though several other species of goods were exported too. A Political Department consultation of the year 1797 refers to the export of gunpowder from Calcutta to the Cape of Good Hope for the use of the large military and naval establishments, as well as of the greater number of the Company's ships which stopped at that port²⁰. Until 1813 the Cape trade was practically a monopoly of the Company and necessarily limited in character. But the opening of the East India trade to private enterprise by the Charter Act of that year and the cessation of the Napoleonic war in Europe in 1814-15 gave considerable impetus to this trade, which showed marked increase during the next few years. It is worth noticing that up to 1813 the Cape of Good Hope had practically nothing to give India by way of return except Cape wines²¹. After that the returns were made partly in the shape of European staples imported direct from Great Britain.²² As has been noted above, this branch of India's foreign trade suffered greatly from the competition of British cotton manufactures, which proved ruinous to India's supply of piece-goods in nearly all her foreign markets.

¹⁹ A species of fine cloth generally manufactured in Bihar and Benares.

²⁰ Pol. Cons., 28 April, 1797, No. 1.

²¹ H. H. Wilson, *A Review of the External Commerce of Bengal*, p. 98.

²² *Ibid.*

CENTURY OLD FILES OF MARATHI NEWSPAPERS

By Y. K. Deshpande

1. Introductory.—Last year, when I was inspecting the Mss. collection of late Dajisahib Buti of Nagpur for noting the Mss. for the Nagpur University, I came across a bundle of old files of Marathi newspapers. On scrutiny I found them to be files of old newspapers published in Poona and Bombay during the period between 1842 and 1846 A.D. On cursory reading, it was noticed that the issues contained information valuable for the social, political, religious and economic history of the period concerned. These files have now been deposited in the library of Sharadashram, Yeotmal.

2 —A brief account of these newspapers is given below:—

(a) There are in all three newspapers *viz.* (1) Prabhakar of Bombay, (2) Mitrodaya of Poona and (3) Dyanasindhu of Bombay. All of them have been printed in litho press.

(1) Prabhakar.—It was published from Bombay on every Sunday. It contained 8 pages in an issue. The endorsement on the last page records that it was printed in the press of Ganpat Krishnaji and was published by one Govind Laxman. The press then was situated near Babdeo in the town near the line of Boribundar. It is commonly known that the paper was started by Bhao Mahajan who, afterwards, resided at Nagpur. The file contains the following issues of the first volume. 14, 16, 21 to 23, 25, 26, 27 to 37, 39, 41 to 43 and 45 to 47 in all 24 issues. Since issue no. 37, the paper was published at the Prabhakar Press by one Hari Narayan Khadilkar. Since issue No. 41, the paper was published by one Govind Pandurang Joshi. Issue No. 14 is dated 23rd Jan. 1842 A.D. and the last issue *i.e.* the 47th issue is dated 11th Sept. 1842. From calculation it appears that the first issue of the paper was published on 24th Oct. 1841. The monthly subscription of the paper was Re. one.

(2) Mitrodaya.—It was published every Saturday from Poona. Ordinarily the paper had 8 pages in every issue. The file contains the following issues of the first volume *viz.* 1 to 5 and 7 to 32. The first issue was published on 2-3-1844. The endorsement on the last page records that the paper was published by Vireshwar Sadasheo Chhatre in his press at Poona Budhwar. Issue No. 32 is dated 5th Oct. 1844 A.D. As the announcement in the last issue

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shows, the paper did not get sufficient support from the public. The paper appears to have stopped publication after issue no. 32. Monthly subscription of the paper was Rs. 1/8 and every issue was priced at six annas.

(3) Dyanasindhu.—It was published on every Monday from Bombay. Ordinarily every issue had 4 pages and the paper was published by Vireshwar Sadasheo Chhatre in his own press in the house of late Bapu Chhatre, his father, in the Badi of Antoba Gosavi near Lohar Chawl at Bombay. We have seen that the same gentleman published the Mitrodaya paper of Poona.

The files of the paper contain the following issues.

Vol. 1. issue Nos. 23 and 29 to 52.

Vol. 2. issue Nos. 1 to 23, 25 to 28, 29 to 31, 33, 35, 37 to 43, 45, 48, 49, 51 and 52.

Vol. 3. Issue Nos. 1 to 5, 8 to 11, 13 to 37, '8, 39, 42, 44 to 46, 48 and 50.

Vol. 4. Issue Nos. 1 to 13, 20, 21, 23, 25 to 27, 29, 30, 32 to 34, 39, 43; 45; 46, 49 and 50.

Vol. 5. Issue Nos. 5 to 11, 15, 16, 20 and 21.

Issue No. 23 of the first volume is dated 11th July 1842. On calculation back, it appears that the first issue of the first volume was published on 7th Feb. 1842. Accordingly the first issues of the next four volumes were published on 6-2-1843, 5-2-1844, 3-2-1845 and 2-2-1846 respectively.

Issue No. 21 of Vol. 5, which is the last one in the file, is dated 22nd June 1846.

3. The then state of journalism.—From these files we get information on current topics for a period of nearly four and half years. Journalism then in India, especially in Maharashtra was in its infant stage. There were then no news agencies, no radios or even telegraphic messages. It had to depend for its information on news letters received directly and also on news letters published in newspapers of India and outside. The editors gave news also from oral information, only the news began with a prefix sentence such as 'it is heard that'. For foreign news, the editors had to depend on the news received through the British mail which reached Bombay once a month at the time.

4. The Indian and foreign newspapers.—It would be interesting to note the newspapers either Indian or foreign, from which news were borrowed by these Marathi papers. The names of some of them are as follows:—

Indian newspapers.—

1. Bombay Govt. Gazette, 2. Simla Newspaper, 3. Calcutta Star, 4. Bombay Courier, 5. Calcutta Govt. Gazette, 6. Bombay Gentleman's Gazette, 7. Bengal Harkaru, 8. Benares Akhbar, 9. Times Bombay, 10. Madras Athenaeum, 11. United Service Gazette, Madras, 12. Madras Press Current, 13. Madras Spectator, 14. Agra Akhbar, 15. Calcutta Englishman, 16. Delhi Gazette,

17. Bombay Chabuk, 18. Calcutta Friend of India, 19. Madras Govt. Gazette, 20. Samachar, Bombay, 21. Upades Chandrika, Bombay, 22. Sadukti Ratna, Bombay, 23. Mitrodaya, Poona, 24. Prabhakar, Bombay, 25. Dyansindhu, Bombay. 26. Dnyanodaya, Bombay.

Foreign Newspapers.—

1. Penang Gazette, 2. Ceylon Herald. 3. Canton Press, 4. Edinburgh Magazine, 5. Singapore Free Press, 6. Moulmein Chronicle. 7. Leeds Times. 8. Morning Herald.

4. Topics of the period.—It will now be seen how these newspapers preserve historical details of the events which took place during the period. 1. The principal event is the British campaign in Afghanistan. Causes that led to the campaign, movement of the army, day to day occurrences and the result of the campaign have been recorded in detail on the basis of the news letters from military camps and also from Peshawar, Kabul and other important places, published in several Indian and foreign newspapers. 2. Removal of Pratapsingh, Raja of Satara from the gadi, tricks played by the resident and other officers which resulted in the raja's removal. Activities of Rango Bapuji agent of the Raja in England, proceedings and speeches in the case of the raja in the meetings of the court of directors, and also in Parliament have been published month by month on the basis of the reports brought by the monthly British mail by steamers, 3. State news from Hyderabad, Indore, Baroda, Nagpur, Gwalior and other states, many details being recorded on the basis of the information received from eye witnesses. 4. Political news from the Sikh darbar at Lahore. Detailed history of the Sikh government after the death of Ranjit Singh. 5. Activities and movements of the deposed persons and political pensioners like Bajirao Peshva and Vinayakrao Peshva. 6. Formation of the education department in Bombay, early educational institutes and the educationists of the early period. 7. Activities of the missionaries, starting of a Christian Paper Dnyanodaya in Marathi, conversion of one Shripad Sheshadri a Brahmin lad in Bombay and commotion caused thereby in Bombay and Poona in the Brahmin community. 8. Report of the first meeting held for the purpose of organizing Indian railways with share capital and resolution to start steam railway from Bombay to Kalyan and Poona. 9. Information about starting weaving mills in the environment of Bombay. These are some of the topics that were discussed and published in the newspapers.

We get information and dates of many historical events which took place during the period. Some of them are given below. 1. Dinner given by the Duke of Wellington on the anniversary of the great battle of Waterloo to his colleagues, who had taken part in the battle along with him. 2. Birth and death of the only son of the raja of Nagpur. 3. Visit of Bajirao Peshva to Allahabad and his temporary internment on suspicion of his being in intrigue with the enemies

of the company, 4. Pilgrimage of Vinayakrao Peshva to Benares from Chitrakut along with his son Narayenrao and his charities at that place, 5. Internment of Pratapsinha, raja of Satara, at Benares and that of the Amir of Sindh in the Maharashtra.

6. Conclusion.—It is true that there is vast material in the official records in connection with the historical events such as the Afghan campaign, ease of the raja of Satara, or last days of the Sikh rule in Punjab and many works have been published thereon. Still it is very interesting to read these news letters and the editorial comments on them, which represent the current views of the people on the topics above referred to. Journalism appears to have been free then and opinion has been expressed without any restriction in the editorials. Causes of the recall of Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General, motive for the Afghan campaign, deposition of the Satara raja and salt tax are some of the instances.

A WARRIOR FAMILY OF BERAR

By D. B. Mahajan

Introductory:—History records that in the sixteenth century the three great Muhammadan states which divided the Deccan, had numerous Marathas in their armies. Particularly the kingdoms of Bijapur and Ahamadnagar, which extended over the whole of Maharashtra, had the best and the most powerful armies consisting of the Maratha chiefs. Among the principal Maratha chiefs who were responsible, in some way or other, for the prosperity of Ahamadnagar, were Rao Jadhao Deshmukh of Sindhkhed, in Berar, and Raja Bhonslay in Maharashtra.

I intend to deal with the great military family of the Jadhawas of Sindhkhed in this paper. Lukhaji Jadhawrao, who had risen to great prominence, received the Mansab of 24,000, with 15,000 horse, from the Moghal Emperor, in the year 1621 A.D.† This is in itself a proof of great power and consequence which the Jadhawas had by that time attained. No Maratha family was so powerful as the Jadhawas. This was what Lukhaji Jadhawrao achieved as a mark of personal distinction, as a brave and loyal soldier and an experienced statesman. But Lukhaji made an equally valuable contribution towards the building of the Maratha nation. It was his daughter Jijabai (who was married to Shahaji Bhonslay) who gave birth to Shiwaji, the great, the founder of the Maratha Empire.

The following will give an interesting but brief account (so far unpublished) of the members of this military family which was responsible for contributing an unbroken chain of warriors, extending over a period of about three and half centuries.

1. *Vithoji son of Achaloji*.—Vithoji Jadhao, who had 5,000 horse under his command, is mentioned in the records of battles between Ahamadnagar and Nizamshaha, and there is sufficient evidence now to show that Vithoji had taken prominent part in the decisive battle of Talikot better known as Rakshita Gundee in 1564 A.D. in which Vijaynagar received crushing defeat. Vithoji fought on behalf of Nizamshaha against the Hindu Army of the Deccan

2. *Lukhaji Jadhaw Rao*.—Vithoji's worthy son Lukhaji, won great laurels, in a number of battles which he fought, as a selfless supporter of Nizamshahi Kingdom. His loyalty remains unchallenged and he did not spare his sword even against his own son-in-law, Shahaji Bhonslay. Lukhaji was conspicuous in the battle of Bhatwadi fought in the year 1624 A.D. It is worth recording that with Lukhaji, there was another Brahmin soldier of great repute, Raje

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† Grant Duff, *History of the Marhattas*, (Ed. Edwardes), Vol. 1, page 78.

Udaram of Mahur, in Berar. Both of them joined the Moghal ranks and led their armies under the general command of Mulla Muhammad, the Adilshahi general.

Lukhaji got displeased and when he deserted the Nizamshaha and joined the Moghal Emperor, the Nizamshaha invited him to a conference within the fort of Daulatabad where he was treacherously murdered with his three sons 1. Anchalji 2. Raghoji and 3. Yeshwantrao.² in the year 1629.

3. *Bhutaji alias Jagdeo Rao*.—He was Lukhaji's younger brother and generally accompanied Lukhaji, to various campaigns. He planned the eventful siege of Daulatabad in the year 1633 A.D. and ultimately captured the fort. The 'Surat Majlis' (unpublished document) records the various honours conferred upon him by the Emperor of Delhi, by a Farman in the Ilahi year 8. Besides, the Emperor conferred upon him the title of "Rustam Rao".

4. *Dattaji son of Bahadurji*.—It has been mentioned that Lukhaji and his three sons were brutally murdered in the fort of Daulatabad and the only son left behind by Lukhaji was Bahadurji. He was given in adoption to Butaji Jadhao (Lukhaji's younger brother). Bahadurji's branch added glory to the family. From the unpublished *Bakhar*³ of the family it is revealed that Dattaji Raje, who continued to be the faithful adherent of the Moghuls, became conspicuous in the battle of Kalburga, near Nilang in Carnatic, in the year 1664 A.D. "Dattaji had an army of 10,000 good soldiers and 2,000 horse. Each horseman received not less than Rs. 50/- as his pay."

5. *Raghoji I. and 6. Yeshwant Rao*.—Dattaji's eldest son Raghoji, with 4,000 men and 40 elephants, marched in advance, and showed great dash and bravery. Yeshwantrao, his younger brother also followed him, with 2000 soldiers. Dattaji permitted him to go to the battlefield in spite of his young age of 15 years. Raghoji fought furiously and received 52 fatal wounds, and at last fell fighting in the battle.

6. Dattaji, who had taken strategical positions, was fired on all sides by the, enemies who outnumbered his forces. He was mortally wounded and it is said that the emperor himself dealt the last stroke with a "sang" (a pointed weapon) and Dattaji struggled hard till his death. Thus Dattaji and his two brave sons were lost in this battle.

7. *Rao Jagdeo Rao son of Dattaji Rao Jadhao*.—Dattaji had fortunately left at home one child in Jagdeo Rao. He received the same training in his boyhood and subsequently proved to be a great warrior. He distinguished himself in the siege of the fort of Waghingira in Carnatic in the year 1674-75. He met the emperor who said: "You have each time served the Moghal Gadi, you must bring me the crown of success." Jagdeo Rao replied: "Your salt will succeed." The emperor then received him with "Pandani."

¹ Beniprasad, *History of Jahangir*.

² Surat Majalis and other collections of M. S. S.

³ Bakhar of Jadhao family in Marathi.

Rao Jagdeo had 3,700 horse and 10,000 reliable men under his command. The long list of the Mahratta chiefs who served under his command shows what power and influence he then commanded. The principal Maratha Mankaris were Bhanwase, Dhar Rao, Rananaware, Deware, Nikam, Wagh, Chaware. Bhonslay, Pawar, Manerao, Ghate, More and others. Rao Jagdeo with great skill and daring hoisted the Moghal flag on the fort to the great admiration of the emperor. As a result, he received military distinctions and various honours, including the Mansab of 7000 horse and Jagirs and seven lakhs of rupees for his personal expenses.

Jagdeo Rao was so much elated with success, that he marched on into Hindustan and the emperor entrusted him with the expedition to Kabul. Jagdeo proved extremely worthy of the honour. He defeated and killed the son of the Afghan king who fled for his life. Jagdeo Rao had then a big army of 50,000 armed soldiers, 35 guns and good horses. The emperor in return, bestowed upon him high honours and rewarded him with diamond rings and precious necklace. He also received flags and other honours of personal distinction.

Jagdeo Rao was the greatest of the soldiers the family ever produced. He was at the same time a philosopher and a devotee of God. He founded the famous temple of Balasaheb at Deulgaon Raja, in Berar, in the year 1692, which has an income of one lakh of rupees per year, even up to date. This brave hero died in the year 1699.

8. *Rao Mansing Jadhao*.—Rao Mansing, his son, was then in Delhi. He received all the honours of his father. But he had a very peculiar character which created enemies for him. The Nawab Daudkhan got displeased with him as he (Mansing) refused to give his beloved Ranjit elephant. Rao Mansing had to fight a number of small fights to get back his Watan. His siege of the fort at Mahur is well known in which he showed his skill. An interesting story about his respect for Hindu religion is mentioned in the Bakhar. Once, Rao Mansing applied "Tilak" or Gandh on his forehead and attended the Darbar. This was objected to by the Muhammadon Sardars who asked Jadhao Rao to wipe off the tilak. Rao Mansing refused to do so, saying that every Hindu must apply the tilak on his forehead except when he is in mourning. With this, he stood up with his sword unmasked. The Emperor took notice of this and offered him Jagir of Rs. 5,000/- for the purchase of saffron for tilak, "as an appreciation." Rao Mansing died in the year 1711 A.D.

9. *Raghoji son of Jagdeo Rao Jadhao*.—He was the second son of Rao Jagdeo. On receiving the special message from the emperor of Delhi, he marched on and took the command under Mubarizkhan, the then Subhedar of the Deccan. Raghoji won admiration even from his enemies in the decisive battle of Sakharkherda, in the year 1724. He fought with fury and dash. His

horse was shot, when he continued fighting with his sword and pierced into the crowd, when he was fatally wounded and killed. Tulaji Bhonslay and Tukoji Bab Deobaxi, his two assistants concealed his dead body, dressed as beggars and ran away to Sindhkhed to save the lives of the ladies and the small child Raomansing. It is worth noting that the Peshwas sided with the Nizamshaha, who won the battle. It was this success that made the Nizam independent and permanent in the Deccan. The Nizam as a commemoration named the village as "Fattekherda". As a result, the Jadhawas lost all Jagirs from the Nizam till Raja Shahu interfered and got the Jagirs back from the Nizam.

10. *Yeshwantrao Jadhao*.—History will record with pleasure the services rendered by Yeshwantrao in putting down the revolts of the free-booters, the Naiks in Berar who were like the Pendharies in the North. He gave a good fight and killed the leader in the battlefield at Sirpur in Basim Taluq of Akola district. This was in 1710 A.D. He saved the country from the cruel ravages.

11. *Ramchandra son of Chandrasen Jadhao*.—His name is often mentioned in all the battles fought by Nizamshaha. Of them the principal battles in which he showed his military skill and daring are battle of Sindhkhed, 1757 and the battle of Udgir, 1760 A.D. Ramchandra was a soldier of merit. A letter⁴ vividly describes the action at Sindhkhed on 12th December 1757. Dattaji Sindhe, Maratha general, Sadashiorao Bhau and Nanasaheb Peshwa, were all present during this campaign.

12. *Chandrasen Jadhao*.—He had taken a lead in the battle of Udgir in 1760. The letter⁵ dated 12-1-1760 written by Vithal Shivdeo Vinchurkar gives information about the encampment of the Nizam's army and of a skirmish that took place between his own men and those of Chandrasen Jadhao. Another letter⁶ D/- 16-1-1760 describes a skirmish between Antaji Mankeshwar's men and those of Jadhao, who was thrown back. Side by side one *Satwaji Jadhaw Rao* also finds place in the letters⁷ (Feb., 1760). He was the most loyal guard of the Peshwas.

13. *Mansing Rao Jadhao alias Babaji*.—Mansing Rao distinguished himself in the battle of Chambhar Gondya, in which the Nizam burnt the village and marched on against Poona. The Peshwas were then puzzled. In the following year (1763) the battle of Rakshabhuwan was fought in which Mansing Rao "made a name", as a brave soldier.

14. *Raghoji son of Mansing Rao*.—He first appeared on the battle field of Rakshabhuwan in the year 1763, when he was a boy of 14 or 15 years only. His father Mansing appreciated his valour. He lost his horse during the battle when he marched on, to the admiration of the Peshwas, Shri Raghu-

⁴ Letter addressed by the Nana Purandare to Balwant Mehandale on 29th December 1757. (See M. S. S.).

⁵, ⁶ and ⁷ *Battle of Udgir*.—Collection of letters.

nath Rao and Madhao Rao, who were highly pleased. In appreciation, they issued orders that "the boy should be caught without harm". Mansing and his son Raghoji, who sided with the Nizam, were ultimately defeated along with the Nizam and the Peshwas won this great battle. Vithal Sundar, the great supporter of Nizamshahi, was slain in the battle. Raghoji Jadhao was subsequently killed in a skirmish with the Naiks who ravaged the villages near Sindhkhed in the year 1780. (This took place at Dhaigaon near Sindhkhed, in Berar.)

15. *Laxman Rao son of Bahadurji Jadhao*.—Laxman Rao belonged to the Junior branch of the family of Bhutaji Jadhao. He became conspicuous in the battles of Carnatic which were fought between Madhao Rao Peshwa and Hyder Ali. Laxman Rao lost his life in the battle in Carnatic in the year 1764. His sons received all the sanads of his father.⁸

The old documents with the family show that the Nizam continued the rights of the Mokasas and Sardeshmukhi of 56 Mahals with the family till the year 1853, when an unfortunate incident proved to be the cause of ruin of the entire family. Raje Bajirao Jadhao, who was residing at Daulatabad, had a number of Arabs under him. They revolted against him under the pretext that they were not duly paid for their services, and at last kept Bajirao under confinement. Raje Bajirao, with the help of Mr. Mayne, the Brigadier of V Cavalry, of Auarangabad secured his escape. But in the skirmish, many Arabs and the three European officers *viz.* Lieut. Boswel and Weghan and Capt. Parkar lost their lives. Raje Bajirao was tried for the offence and was unfortunately found guilty. As a result, he was confined into the fort of Daulatabad as a political prisoner till he died in the year 1859. Consequently, all the rights and watan honours of the family were forfeited. There are two rival claimants to the Watan at present; one Anand Rao Jadhao, who is receiving about Rs. 26,000/- as Rusum from the Nizam and resides at Indore and another Raje Dattaji Rao of Deulgaon, in Berar.

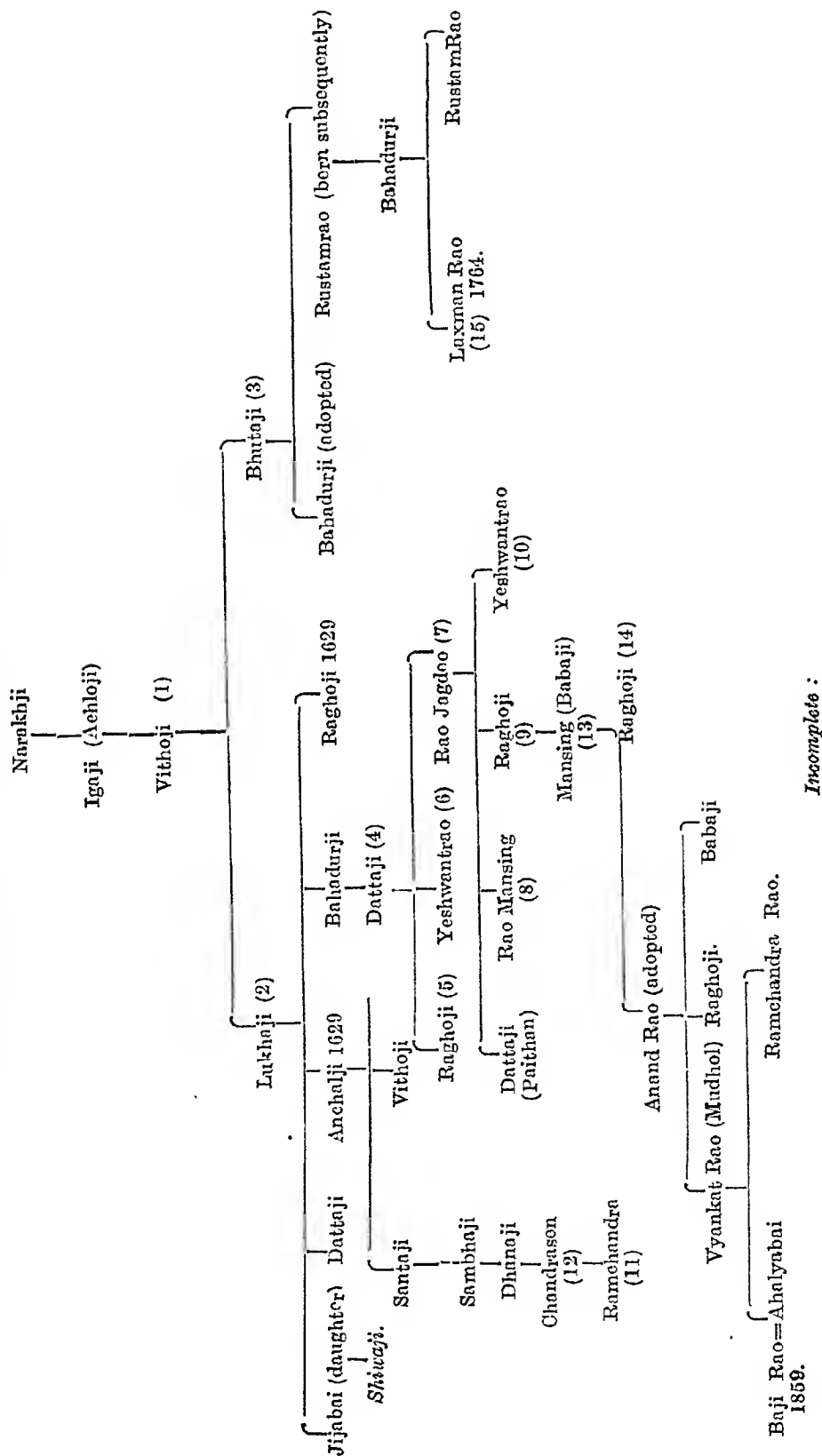
Conclusion.—Such is the sad end of the great family which had a glorious past. This family produced, perhaps the highest number of fighters and worthy statesmen. The unpublished documents show that every boy in the family was bred and brought up as a soldier and was trained in the art of fighting.

The representatives of this great family possess records which include Sanads, Farmans, correspondence with the Moghals, the Nizams and the Peshwas, which throw much light on the history of Maharashtra. I have collected some important records from the family which I intend to release soon for publication.

Note:—I have annexed a genealogical tree of the family to enable the reader to follow the correct course of events, recorded in the paper.

⁸ Collection of M. S. S.

(Genealogical tree of the Jadhao Family of Sindhkhed, Berar)

*Incomplete :*

MILITARY BOOTY IN BRITISH INDIA

By Bool Chand

Few matters have engendered more heat in India under the British than the distribution of war booty, *misnamed* Prize. Under the law of nations, prize is a term specially applied to ships and vessels captured by a belligerent on the high seas; in India there were hardly any cases of capture of vessels. Here the Company's armies collected military booty from places which were the object of their attack, and it was over the distribution of such booty that there were bitter controversies, often so bitter that "even the magnates of the land did not disdain to take an active part in them."

According to International Law,¹ private enemy property, except such things as military papers and arms, cannot be got hold of and appropriated as war booty. It is only public enemy property that can be taken, including such things as weapons, munitions, valuable pieces of equipment which are found upon the dead, wounded and prisoners, war-chest, state papers, enemy horses, batteries, carts and other items of value. Before the practice of war became refined, however, there is no doubt that invading armies generally lived by foraging and pillage in the invaded country.

Even in British India pillage was one of the inducements held out to the adventurers who formed part of the fighting forces, either as officers or as common soldiers, and that continued to be so down to comparatively recent times. The records of the Indian Government are replete with cases involving lengthy and sometimes even violent correspondence over the taking and distribution of war booty.

It was in the year 1758 that the Court of Directors of the East India Company, under the authority conferred upon them by the Crown by the Charter of 14th January 1758,² had notified their employees in India that "His Majesty had, by letters patent, granted to the Company, with certain exceptions, all plunder or booty taken by their troops by sea or land . . . and that the Court had consented to give up half of all such plunder to the troops, with the exception of cannon, ammunition and military stores".³ In 1761, certain British troops were engaged by the Company to sail for India in order to take part in the Indian campaigns connected with the Seven Years War.

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¹ See Oppenheim.—International Law II, 265.

² See Ilbert.—Government of India, p. 37.

³ See Wilson.—History of Madras Army I, p. 124.

These British troops expressed their violent dissatisfaction with the Government notification promising to the troops half of all plunder; both Admiral Cornish and General Draper, commanders respectively of the naval and military forces, put forward the plea that the Navy, Army, and the East India Company should be considered as three distinct parties, each entitled to an equal share.

From time to time when the Company's troops were called upon to assist any of the Company's Allies, demands were put forward by the troops for the setting apart of specific amounts of money for distribution among themselves as prize as a precedental condition to their taking the field. In April 1772 a field force was assembled under General Smith for service against the Raja of Ramnad at the instance of the Nawab of Carnatic; and the following agreement⁴ was executed between the General and the Nawab after the fort of Ramnad had been taken by storm.

"The troops of the English Company having taken the fort at Ramnadpuram by storm, declare that according to the rules of war and the practice of the said Company, the money and effects found therein are the property of the troops. The Nawab Omdut-ul-Umrah Bahadur therefore gives this engagement to General Joseph Smith and all the other officers of the said troops that, in consideration of their giving to him the whole of the money, he the said Nawab as an equivalent for the same will give to every:—

Major	2,400 pagodas
Captain	1,200 pagodas
Lieutenant and Ensign	600 pagodas
Paymaster, Commissary, Senior Surgeon, Chaplain and Secretary.	1,200 pagodas
Inferior Surgeon	600 pagodas

"To all the Company's troops, moreover, employed upon this expedition against Ramnadpur, he will give the same as His Highness did at the time of the reduction of Madura.

"In confirmation thereof, that agreeable to this engagement the above sum will be paid to everyone in the space of three months, the said Nawab has given this writing to serve as an agreement. Further he will give to General Joseph Smith Bahadur the one-eighth part of what he is by agreement to pay to the whole of the Majors, Captains, etc etc. officers, and to the whole of the troops.

"Dated the 30th of the moon Suffur of the Hegira 1186, equal to the 3rd June 1772 of the Christian Era".

A similar agreement, promising much more generous terms of ransom money (that is the term used by the translator), was executed By the Nawab

⁴ See Col. W. J. Wilson.—History of Madras Army I, p. 296.

when he requisitioned the force again in 1773 under General Smith for a siege of Tanjore.⁵

It is obvious that war booty, or its equivalent—promised ransom money, was an inevitable accompaniment of all campaigns fought by the Company's troops. To the House of Commons in 1863 a return⁶ was submitted of the occasions on which prize-money had been found and had been granted to be distributed to the army. From 1810 to 1858 there were 18 occasions on which booty was captured and distributed:—

Name of Campaign	Date of Capture	Distribution authorised by
Isle of France	1810	Madras Gen. Order 2-2-19
Java	1811	Royal Warrant 22-8-14
Deccan	1817, 1818	Bengal Gen. Order 28-3-22 and 15-5 29
Burma	1824, 1825, 1826	Bengal Gen. Order 19-12-36
Bhurtpore.	1826	Ditto 16-2-29
Coorg	1834	Madras Gen. Order 19-8-36
Ghazni	1839	Bengal Gen. Order 17-3-48
Kalat	1839	Ditto 21-11-45
Sind	1843	Ditto 31 12-47
Pegu	1852, 1853	Ditto 27-3-63
Persia	1856, 1857 . . . . .	. . . . .
Delhi	1857	Bengal Gen. Order 13-12-61
Lucknow	1858	Ditto 31-12-61

Most of the occasions of distribution of booty have been occasions of "violent contention" in which the higher officers put forward their claims with the same avidity and shamelessness as the comparatively lower persons in the ranks. As has been aptly said by Col. Wilson in his 'History of the Madras Army'. "the conduct of Lord Cornwallis and Sir William Meadows, in giving up their share of the prize money acquired in the campaigns of 1790-2 presents a striking contrast to that of most commanders". On two occasions, when the booty involved was of a very substantial value, the controversy was particularly prolonged and acrimonious.

Deccan Prize Money, 1817:18⁷

Booty of the estimated value of 91 lacs of rupees was captured by the Mysore Horse in 1817. The Madras Government, at the instance of the Com-

⁵ See Col. W. J. Wilson History of Madras Army I, p. 299.

⁶ See 345 H.C. (1863).

⁷ The whole controversy can be followed in the following Parliamentary Papers :

556 H. C. 1837-8.

76 H. C. 1831-2.

580 H. C. 1833.

701 H. C. 1833.

702 H. C. 1833.

726 H. C. 1831-2.

mander-in-Chief, requested the Governor-General to cause the restitution of the booty in order that it might be made part of the general prize fund, but the Governor-General disallowed the claim and ordered the distribution of the booty among its actual captors. In 1818 prize property was acquired at Singhur, Poona, Satara and other places, for which a Prize Committee was appointed on 15th January 1818. The Prize Committee felt that the order of the Governor-General of 9th December 1817 made with reference to the Mysore capture that "all booty should belong to the division or divisions by which it had been captured", had not been intended to apply to operations undertaken against sovereign princes. A reference was made to the Governor-General specifically requesting him to say that the booty taken from the Peshwa, Raja of Nagpur and Holkar may be equitably distributed amongst the Army of the Deccan. The Governor-General objected to the limitation of the number of beneficiaries, and ruled that if there was to be a general division of the booty "all troops of the three Presidencies engaged in the combined operations in Hindustan and in the Deccan" must share. Here the dispute began and, as the Duke of Wellington who was later appointed by the Treasury as a trustee of the whole fund said, "none upon booty was carried on with more violence and party spirit". Sir Thomas Hislop protested against the Governor-General's order on the ground that he held an independent command and that there had not been sufficient co-operation on the part of the Grand Army to entitle it to a share. Both parties appealed to the Court of Directors, and the matter ultimately came before the Lords of the Treasury. It was not finally settled till the close of the year 1827, when it was decided that two distributions should be made, one to the actual captors and the other to the whole army under the head of 'constructive capture'.

Banda and Kirwee Prize, 1858³.

The Banda and Kirwee booty, estimated to be about 84 lacs of rupees in value, was captured by the Saugar and Nerbudda Field Force under the command of General Whitlock. But Kirwee had actually surrendered without fighting, and in Central India there were three forces under their separate commanders operating at the time, the Central Indian Field Force under the command of Gen. Sir Hugh Rose and the Rajputana Field Force under the command of Gen. Roberts besides the one under Whitlock. The question therefore arose what troops would share the booty. The prize agents of the force under Gen. Whitlock of course claimed that the property captured should be granted exclusively to their troops. Gen. Hugh Rose claimed that he and the force under him should participate, for their co-operation in the action and movement of Gen. Whitlock's forces had led to the capture. On similar grounds Major-General Smith, who commanded a brigade detached from the force of Gen. Roberts and co-operating with the force under Gen. Hugh Rose, put forward his claim. Above all, Gen. Lord Clyde, Commander-in-Chief, preferred a claim on behalf of himself and his personal staff that they should participate in the capture.

³ The whole controversy can be followed in the following Parliamentary Papers :
498 H. C. 1853.

42 H. C. 1854.

on the grounds that as Commander-in-Chief in India he directed the operations which led to the capture of the booty.

The Secretary of State for India proposed that the proceeds of the property should be thrown into a common fund and be distributed equally among the forces under the three commands. But Her Majesty felt that the matter was contentious enough to be referred to the judgment of the High Court of Admiralty, which had by 3 and 4 Vict. c 65 been given competent jurisdiction to try all cases concerning the claims to military booty in the same way in which it had tried cases concerning naval prizes.

Legal Position

The Deccan Prize, 1817-18, and the Banda and Kirwee Prize, 1858, cases are interesting, among other things, for the enunciation of the general principles governing the distribution of booty among the troops.

International law merely states what constitutes proper military booty; it has nothing to do with the determination of its distribution. To whom the booty belongs is not for international but for municipal law to determine. According to the British municipal law, all booty belongs to the Crown in right of royal prerogative. As we stated before, so far as India is concerned, the Crown granted a Charter recognising that the East India Company might keep any booty taken in wars legitimately waged in the Charter limits against the enemies of the Company or the King, subject to the right of the King to distribute the booty at his discretion when royal forces took part in the operations concerned. On the strength of this Charter, the Court of Directors issued the letter referred to before in which they consented to give up half of all plunder to the troops.

In the matter of distribution of the booty two rival principles, the principle of actual capture and the principle of constructive capture, have been put forward by various claimants from time to time. *Prima facie*, the actual captors are exclusively entitled to all military booty, subject only to the paramount title of the Crown. When a party asserts the right of participation in the character of constructive captors, it is obvious that the burden of proof rests on such party. In order to sustain a claim of constructive capture, some form of direct co-operation or contribution of endeavour must be established.

It is noteworthy that till 1840 there was no judicial tribunal in Great Britain or India which was competent to take cognisance of claims regarding purely military booty. Possibly because the contests in regard to military booty in India became more and more bitter and involved, Parliament decided to establish a regular tribunal to which competing claims may be submitted. By 3 and 4 Vict. C. 65 the Court of Admiralty was empowered to exercise jurisdiction in cases relating to booty of war, whenever the Crown may refer them to the Court, and to proceed therein as cases of naval prize. The first reference to the Court of Admiralty was made by Her Majesty in the matter of Banda and Kirwee Prize in 1864.

TWO UNPUBLISHED PROCLAMATIONS OF ANA SAHIB

By K. D. Bhargava

The historical literature on the Indian Mutiny is admittedly of a voluminous nature, but very little has been written from the Indian point of view, which would give "the other side of the medal". The skill, initiative and resourcefulness displayed individually by rebel leaders have never been questioned, but it is an accepted fact that one of the main reasons for their failure was the lack of any co-ordinated plan of action. Nana Sahib, the adopted son of Ex-Peshwa Baji Rao II, issued two proclamations on 6 July 1857 which throw welcome light on the military organisation set up at his instance. English translations of the proclamations were sent by M.H. Court, Magistrate and Collector of Allahabad to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary, Foreign Department, Government of India¹. Some important points from the proclamations are given below, which show that the rebel forces were governed almost by the same rules and regulations as the forces of the British Government and were in no way inferior to them.

Each infantry or cavalry regiment was placed under a Colonel who was to be the Commanding Officer. Under him were two officers, a Major who was to be second in command, and an Adjutant. The duties of these officers have been given at length in the proclamation. It was the duty of the Colonel 'to command his Troops, and execute any orders which the 'Sirkar' may issue with respect to any arrangement as to be made in the Regiment.' He was vested with full authority to adopt all necessary measures with regard to the construction of batteries and the conduct of war, but he was to implicitly obey any instructions from headquarters and to act in conformity with them.

The Major was considered as "The Aide-de-Camp of the Colonel assisting him by his advice and aiding him in commanding the Regiment." He was also to carry on the duties of the Colonel during his absence. The duties of the Adjutant included the supervision of the Regimental drills and training soldiers in military manoeuvres. He was also to hold charge of the records of the office of the Quarter-Master and to take care of the magazine and ammunition and prevent misappropriation of the goods under his control. "He will moreover see what quantity each sepoy has in his possession. If any of these articles be injured, found less in number or misappropriated, the person who may injure or misappropriate them, will be considered as a culprit."

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¹ Foreign Secret Cons., 21 July 1857, Nos. 88-89. (National Archives).

The document also contains minute details concerning the clerical staff. A Munshi was attached to each regiment and his salary was to be paid by "the 10 Sirdars of the 10 Cos. that are in the receipt of allowances." It is not clear who the ten Sardars were but it may be safely presumed that the so-called rebel army was originally divided into ten companies at the head of each of which was a "Sirdar." The Munshi's duties may best be told in the words of the proclamation—"The duty of this Moonshee shall be on the expiration of the month to prepare the Pay Lists of the 10 Companies as well as the Muster Rolls shewing the number of Sepoys present, absent and wounded and to submit them under his signature to the Adjutant of his Regiment."

The Adjutant had to keep one Head Munshi and two Assistant *Moharrirs* whose salary were to be paid by the Government. On the occasion of the assembly of a Court Martial, the Head Munshi had to record the allegation of the plaintiff, the depositions of witnesses and the judgment of the Court. After getting the judgment signed, it was his duty to make it over to the Commanding Officer of the Regiment, who after attesting it forwarded it to the Brigadier. From the Brigadier the papers were finally transmitted to the "Sarkar" and the sentence of the court was given effect to on approval. The salary of the Head Munshi was Rs. 50/- and the two *Moharrirs* under him got Rs. 10/- each.

One of the two *Moharrirs* was to attend the "Sarkar's" office every day. At 4 O'clock he had to copy out and take to the Adjutant's office any orders which may be issued by the "Sarkar." These orders were then promulgated and enforced in the regiment by the Adjutant.

In addition to this a number of other proclamations were issued by Nana Sahab during the initial stages of the Mutiny. One of these brings out clearly the generous pension which a wounded and disabled soldier of this army was to receive and the pension to which the surviving heirs of a deceased soldier were entitled. This proclamation dated 6 July 1857,² reads as under:—

"Every man belonging to the Artillery, the Infantry and the Cavalry, who has joined us or will join us in the contest, a Pension will be given for one generation, to his son, or his wife, or his mother or his sister, or his daughter. And whoever has been, or may be incapacitated by wounds, he will get a Pension for his life according to custom; and those who are not incapacitated, and remain on duty, and those who get old in the service, will also receive Pensions according to custom. And whatever the rate of pay at Dehlee may be, that will be given here from the day of joining the army of the "Sirkar"."

It would be interesting to know how the military organisation actually functioned, but I have not been able to gather any materials from available papers in the custody of the National Archives of India.

² Foreign Secret O. C., 31 July 1857, No. 88.

HINDU RAO'S ESTATE IN DELHI

By Upendra Nath Sarkar

People of Delhi are familiar with Bara Hindu Rao (or Hindu Rao's House) but very few are aware of the many difficulties which the Maratha noble had to experience in making good his title to the estate he had purchased. The estate had a tragic background as it was associated with William Fraser, Governor General's Agent and Commissioner at Delhi, whose promising career was cut short by dastardly assassination in 1836.

The history of the estate and the several litigations in which it was involved soon after its purchase by Hindu Rao is available in the unpublished correspondence recorded in G.G.'s Cons. Rev. B. 1812, No. 40, preserved in the National Archives of India.

Jai Singh Rao Ghatge, better known by his hereditary title as Hindu Rao, brother of Buiza Bai, the favourite wife of Daulat Rao Sindhia, incurred the displeasure of his nephew Maharaja Jankoji Sindhia for his many alleged intrigues against the young ruler and was obliged to leave Gwalior and go into voluntary exile under the protection of the British Government. His good services and friendly attitude towards the British induced R. Cavendish, Resident at Gwalior, to procure for him the promise of "a monthly pension of 10,000 Chandoree Rupees"¹ from Jankoji Sindhia. This monthly pension settled on him by the Sindhia was considered by the authorities at Fort William as 'very liberal'.²

The British Government after trying to fix him up at Dholpur, Agra, Mathura and Farukhabad, finally selected Delhi "as most convenient"³ for him. On the 11th August 1834, Hindu Rao marched towards Delhi.

To make the days of his exile as comfortable as possible under the circumstances, Hindu Rao bought "under the arrangements of the then Civil and Sessions Judge of Delhi, Mr. Hugh Fraser, in his private capacity"⁴ an estate near Delhi from Mr. John Fraser, brother of William Fraser, for Rs. 20,000, and a title deed was "drawn up in the proper Department of the Civil Judge's office, authenticated by official seal and signature."⁵ The

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¹ Pol. Cons., 19 December 1834, No. 25.

² Pol. Cons., 19 December 1834, No. 28.

³ Pol. Cons., 9 September 1843, No. 67.

⁴ Copy of a letter dated 26th October 1839 from Hindu Rao to Lord Auckland.

⁵ *Ibid.*

estate comprised, besides, 323 bighas of land, a spacious bungalow with a compound of 169½ bighas. "In some of the portions more or less wells were situated and on some were buildings. Mr. Fraser having made these purchases united the lands, built a dwelling house in the midst of them, to which they served as a compound and they appear to have been (if not actually are yet) enclosed by a wall of masonry."⁶

As soon as the property was bought, Hindu Rao was involved in a law suit as a defendant. The estate "was attached by order of the Offg. Civil Judge, Mr. Lindsay, to meet a demand instituted against the Estate of the deceased by the firm of Jugurnath and Kulkadass."⁷ Hindu Rao appealed against the order of the Civil Court to Mr. Metcalfe, Governor General's Agent, N.W.P., who advised "a reference to the Sudder Dewanee Adawalat for the N.W. Provinces."⁸ Hindu Rao considered the procedure "derogatory to his dignity."⁹ Eventually the firm "was induced to relinquish further proceedings by my having to pay the sum of Rs. 10,000 (Rupees Ten thousand) into Court, being the Balance due by me to the Estate, in cash, for its purchase, which sum went in part to meet the demand of the claimant."¹⁰

A second dispute soon cropped up in which the proprietary right to 323 bighas of land included in the estate was questioned. The lands were claimed as belonging to the Government though it was admitted that "the Estate was purchased by Maharaja Rao Gutkeea, usually called Hindu Rao, under the belief that he thereby secured the proprietary right of the land."¹¹

Mr. Metcalfe held that "Mr. Fraser purchased the proprietary right of the land in question from the Zemindars of the adjoining village of Chundrawal, but he never purchased the Government share of the land and consequently always paid his portion of the assessed revenue of the Estate."¹²

Hindu Rao again preferred a compromise as he had an aversion to law suits. He paid to Government a quit rent of Rs. 1198-10-1½ being equivalent to 25 years' rent computed on the basis of the existing rate of 0-2-1½ per bigha and the sale of 323 bighas of disputed land was confirmed as freehold.¹³ After

⁶ H. T. Owen, Special Commissioner, Meerut to R. N. C. Hamilton, Secretary, N. W. P., dated 20 May 1842, No. 118.

⁷ T. T. Metcalfe, Agent, Governor-General, N. W. P. to T. H. Maddock, Offg. Secretary, Pol. Deptt., N. W. P., dated 12 November 1839, No. 1258.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Copy of Hindu Rao's letter to Lord Auckland, dated 26 October 1839.

¹¹ H. M. Elliot, Secretary, Sadar Board of Revenue, N. W. P., Allahabad, to J. Thomason, Offg. Secretary to Governor-General, N. W. P., dated 11 May 1838, No. 189.

¹² T. T. Metcalfe to T. H. Maddock, dated 12 November 1839, No. 1258.

¹³ Offg. Secretary, N. W. P. to H. M. Elliot, Secretary, Sadar Board of Revenue, N. W. P., dated 6 June 1838 (Agra), No. 677.

a few months, a third dispute arose when a portion of the estate was resumed by Government under the assumption system. A revision of the settlement in Delhi territory was undertaken and the title deeds under which the lands were held were called for from the owners. Hindu Rao produced the registered Kubalas drawn up by the different persons in favour of Mr. William Fraser. The Resumption Court considered the deeds to be invalid and resumed the whole of the lands which had been purchased by Mr. Fraser on the ground "of there being no deed filed by the Raja in proof of his purchase from Mr. Fraser (John).....that there were no documents nor evidence in proof of the lands having been originally moafee (rent-free) and lastly that the possession of the Raja occurred since the accession of the Honourable Company to the territory."¹⁴ Hindu Rao in his exasperation decided to seek justice from the highest authority in the land and appealed to Lord Auckland on 26 October 1839 against the resumption order. In this appeal Hindu Rao bitterly complained against "the inhospitable proceedings and conduct of certain ministerial officers at Delhi."¹⁵ Hindu Rao expressed his pained surprise that though the resumption system had been introduced in Fraser's life time, no investigation as to the validity of the tenure had been made for 17 years when Mr. William Fraser held possession of the estate and even after his death, so long as it remained unsold in the hands of his heirs. The fact that whatever irregularities, if any, came to notice immediately on the transfer of the lands to him appeared rather disconcerting to Hindu Rao who considered the whole proceedings actuated by unfriendliness towards him.

Metcalf asked Hindu Rao, without success, to appeal to the Special Commissioner at Meerut who was "appointed to try cases of this description."¹⁶ Mr. Metcalf himself, however, doubted the validity of the grant under which Mr. Fraser held the land—"This land though said to be as rent-free and considered as such by the late Mr. Fraser, was not to the best of my belief, held under a valid grant during Mr. Fraser's life time. The case was not agitated because the resumption laws had not been enforced in the Delhi Territory... But when an officer was appointed to conduct this enquiry under Provision of Regulation II of 1819, he was bound to judge fairly between Government and the Incumbent. The Title deeds of the latter were proved to be invalid and the land was resumed"¹⁷ on 5th November 1838. Metcalf, however, recommended the release of the estate attached to Hindu Rao in the same way as the Shalmar estate was released to its purchaser in 1838.

The Government thereupon wrote to the Sadar Board of Revenue at Allahabad for details regarding the nature of the tenure by which the attached

¹⁴ H. T. Owen, Special Commissioner, Meerut to R. N. C. Hamilton, Secretary, Government, N. W. P., Agra, dated 20 May 1842, No. 118.

¹⁵ Copy of Hindu Rao's letter to Lord Auckland, dated 26 October 1839.

¹⁶ T. T. Metcalf to T. H. Maddock, dated 12 November 1839, No. 1258.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

estate was held, the extent of the land and its computed assessment and enquired if the Board had any objection "to relinquishing the Government right in the land in favour of Maharao Jeye Singh Rao Ghutkee Bahadoor in perpetuity."¹⁸

To this Mr. H. M. Elliot replied "the lands in question are ascertained to measures 86 acres 3 roods and 5 poles and were purchased in 5 different parcels** by the late Mr. Fraser in 1823 and 1824. Nothing certain appears to be known of the grants under which the lands were held free of assessment and the whole of the parcels have been resumed because the land was unregistered and the party in possession was unable to adduce any evidence in support of the validity of the grants."¹⁹

Metcalfe, however, was inclined to take a favourable view. He argued that "at the time Mr. Fraser purchased these lands, the strict enquiry to which Moafee grants have since been subjected, had not been introduced into this Territory; but it is to be supposed that, that officer (W. Fraser) assured himself of the validity of the Tenures before he proceeded to the purchase and from which I have been able to learn I have no doubt that the Original Proprietors had been in possession previous to the British Rule."²⁰

The Board, however, raised no objection to the relinquishment of the Government right in the land in favour of Hindu Rao as "the land has been held free of assessment for a long period.....and as it will not in any way affect the rights of others."²¹

The Government armed with the opinion of the Sardar Board of Revenue, took a liberal view and graciously dropped the proceedings in regard to Hindu Rao's estate and sanctioned "the relinquishment of the land."²²

Many British Officers were also conscious of the harshness of the proceedings against the Raja as will be evident from the remarks of Mr. Owen.

¹⁸ Secretary to Governor-General, N. W. P. (F. Currie) to H. M. Elliot, Secretary, Sadar Board of Revenue, dated 5 December 1839, No. 1613.

^{**} The first parcel was purchased on the 25th May, 1824 from Tuz Khan and others for Rs. 1,000. The second parcel including 'a well, a Baolee, a Pucka Tank and a Bungalow' on 26th April 1823 from Khawazah Meer Khan of Delhi for Rs. 500. The third parcel was purchased in August 1823 from Mohammed Sala of Delhi for Rs. 900. The fourth from Sheikh Hatim Aleeh and Sheikh Gool Mohammed of Delhi for Rs. 675 in January 1823 and the fifth parcel was purchased in November 1823 from a woman named Uchan Koonwar for Rs. 375. (Metcalfe, Commissioner of Delhi Division to Elliot, Secretary, Sadar Board of Revenue, Allahabad, dated 31st January 1840, No. 24).

¹⁹ H. M. Elliot, Secretary, Sadar Board of Revenue, N. W. P. to J. Davidson, dated the 11th February 1840, No. 55.

²⁰ T. T. Metcalfe to H. M. Elliot, dated 31 January 1840, No. 24.

²¹ H. M. Elliot, Secretary, Sadar Board of Revenue, Allahabad, to J. Davidson, Offg. Secretary, Revenue Department, N. W. P., dated 11 February 1840, No. 55.

²² R. N. C. Hamilton, Offg. Secretary, N. W. P. to H. M. Elliot, Offg. Secretary, Sadar Board of Revenue, dated 7 March 1840, No. 401.

Special Commissioner at Meerut—"To wrest from the hands of a highly connected and titled native, a stranger and also ignorant of our laws and regulations a property which he fairly and legally purchased and which he considered as secure and guaranteed by the fact of its belonging to a high and respectable public functionary, appears to me derogatory to the character of the Government I have the honour to serve and I am well aware is contrary to its principles both of policy and liberality and when the annual rent leviable on the land which from the Collector's Proceedings already quoted appears to be about 250 Rupees per annum, is considered, the Confiscation of such a purchase for so small an increase of Revenue must strike the high Natives of this Country in a manner prejudicial to British interests."²³

The affair was formally brought to a close when the Government informed the Special Commissioner at Meerut that they had "no desire to assert any right acquired under the decision of the Resumption Courts."²⁴

Hindu Rao's house is still in existence. It was acquired by the Government from the heirs of Hindu Rao after the Sepoy Mutiny and was turned into a hospital which it has remained ever since.

²³ H. T. Owen, Special Commissioner, Meerut to R. N. C. Hamilton, Secretary, N. W. P., dated 20th May 1842, No. 118.

²⁴ R. N. C. Hamilton, Secretary, N. W. P. to H. T. Owen, dated 10th August 1842, No. 1425.

CAUSES LEADING TO THE DEPUTATION OF A BURMESE POLITICAL MISSION TO THE COURT OF COCHIN-CHINA (1822-24) AND ITS RESULTS.

By Sri Krishna Saxena

Since the invasion of Siam¹ by A-laung-pa-ya² (1752-60) to the reign of Ba-gyi-daw³, the Kings of Burma and Siam were never friendly⁴. John Crawford,⁵ the British Envoy to the Court of Siam in 1822, reports "that even to mention the name of the Burmans was considered a kind of incivility, and whenever they allude to them they talk of them as a faithless and treacherous race with whom no terms ought to be kept. Their possession of a common religion, and in general of common laws and customs seems to have no effect in abating this rancour"⁶.

The Burmese in their turn unhesitatingly regarded Siam as a rebel province. Ba-gyi-daw seems to have inherited something of his ancestors' ambition for further conquest. Adoniram Judson, an American missionary who had lived for years in Burma, noted in his diary "January 31, 1820 . . . that the emperor,

A member of the National Archives staff, Mr. S. K. Saxena has already distinguished himself by his several contributions on new documentary finds. He is at present engaged in editing the *George Gibson Manuscript* regarding a Burmese Embassy to Cochin China (1822-24).

¹ A kingdom called by its inhabitants Thai or Muang-Thai—"The kingdom of the free". The limits of the kingdom have varied considerably even within comparatively recent years.

² He was born in 1714 in a family of humble peasants. He was destined to free his nation from the yoke of the Mons of Pegu, to destroy their supremacy in Burma and to establish an empire extending from Manipur to Bangkok. The rule of his dynasty lasted for a period of hundred and thirty years.

³ He ascended the Burmese throne in 1819, was dethroned in 1837 and died in 1845. He unfortunately came into conflict, with the British in 1824 and lost a portion of his empire situated on the western and southern parts of his dominion.

⁴ One of the reasons for the constant friction between the two nations was the jealousy on the part of kings of Burma of the Siamese rulers for possessing several white elephants. "The importance attached to the possession of a white elephant is traceable to the Buddhist system. A white elephant of certain wonderful endowment is one of the seven precious things, the possession of which makes the *Maha Chakravartti Raja*, 'the great wheel-turning King', 'the holy and the universal sovereign' a character who appears once in a cycle, at the period when the waxing and waning term of human life has reached the maximum of an *Asankhya* in duration". *Narrative of a Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855*—Captain Henry Yule.

⁵ Orientalist. Born 13 August 1783; from 1803 served as an army doctor in N. V. Province of India; transferred to Penang, studied the Malaya language; held appointment under Lord Minto in Java from 1811; sent as Envoy to Siam and Cochin China in 1821; administered the Government of Singapore, 1823-26; Commissioner of Pegu, 1826; Envoy to the Court of Ava; retired 1827; died 11 May 1858.

⁶ N.A.I. Pol. Cons. 27th June 1823, No. 13; also *Crawford papers* (Bangkok 1915.)

flushed with his late victory⁷ over the cassays,⁸ had determined on war with Siam, and intended, next fall to march in person to Pegue, below Rangoon".⁹ According to Antony Rowland, the Burmese translator of the Government of Bengal, "The renewal of hostilities by the King of Ava¹⁰ towards Siam is attributed to a few of the disloyal Siamese subjects deserting their country and informing the king at Unrapoora,¹¹ that the king of Siam is now no more,¹² and that much confusion prevails at the capital, regarding the succession to the throne, owing to entire extinction¹³ of the descendants of the King". He further remarked that "The King of Ava under the impression that the confused state in which the people are represented to be in Siam would render, a conquest of all its powers in no way difficult, ordered preparations for a grand army to march against Siam appointing *Chandamen Baogeeop* the Commander-in-Chief, the title signifying *Generalissimo*. The Army is said to be collecting at Martaban¹⁴ and to consist at present of 20,000 men. The King of Ava will not believe that his information of the death of the King of Siam is incorrect and he is determined to invade Siam. It is reported that he is likely to come to Rangoon to assume the direction of the manoeuvres of War".¹⁵

Ba-gyi-daw before he could take active command of the army, commenced negotiations with foreign powers to seek their aid and to contract offensive

7 Marjit, the king of Manipur and a vassal of the Burmese king, when summoned in 1819 to the capital to pay the necessary homage to the new king Ba-gyi-daw, he disloyally failed to appear at the coronation in spite of his being obliged to the latter for his elevation to the throne of Manipur, apprehending that he would be put to trouble for he had already offended the Court of Ava by forcibly cutting timber in the Kabaw valley and by erecting for himself a place of great grandeur with an ornamental spire, the latter being considered an emblem of royalty. A Burmese army was immediately dispatched to seize the rebel.

8 *Kathe*, the Burmese name for the state and people of Manipur (in the province of Assam).

9 *An account of the American Baptist Mission to the Burmese Empire*—London 1827.—by Mrs. Ann Judson.

10 The kingdom of Burma was egged by the early European writers after its old capital Ava (*Inra*). Upper Burma.

11 Amarapura in Mandalay District, upper Burma. Its name signifies the "City of the Immortals" perhaps named after the Capital of Indra. The old city was founded on 10 May 1873 by Bo-daw-paya. It was at Amarapura that Bo-daw-paya received the first British embassy under Captain Symes in 1795. The city was deserted by Ba-gyi-daw in 1822 in favour of Ava, but it again became the Capital of his brother Tharrawaddy in 1837, and was finally abandoned by king Mindon in 1857 on the foundation of Mandalay.

12 This is not a fact. The king of Siam Phra Buddha Lotla Nobhaluy who ascended the throne in August 1809 died on 20 July 1824.

13 This is not true. The King was succeeded by his eldest son Prince Kroma-Chiat, though illegitimate, under the royal name Param Dharwil rajahdhiraj. He died on 2 April 1851. The second son, who was legitimate, ascended the throne after the death of his illegitimate elder, under the name Somdetch Phra Paramdr Maha Mongkut.

14 Ancient Talaing Capital in Lower Burma; a frontier fortress town with a busy mart.

15 This note was written for the information of the Council in May 1821.

alliance against the Siamese. He commissioned one of his Anglo-Indian employees to Pondicherry,¹⁶ for enlisting suitable "workmen of different handicrafts"¹⁷ and in return for this assistance, the French were assured of commercial preferential treatment in Burma. Next the Burmese king turned his attention to South-East Asia, apparently to attack Siam from the two Sides and commenced correspondence against the Siamese through the Viceroy of Tavoy. with the ex-Sultan of Kedah¹⁸, a vassal of the King of Siam, who was then living in exile at Penang and was trying to seek British military aid to regain his throne.

Thus runs the viceroy of Tavoy's letter to the Sultan of Kedah:—"The Emperor having appointed me Rajah of Tavoy, I write to your Highness on the present subject.—It is known that the Rajahs of Kedah have been from formerly in friendly relations with Siam; but that the Siamese have now come and committed oppression on your Highness, and dispersed your Highness' family, thereby occasioning the greatest distress to the whole Country.—This is the usual habit of the Siamese, to have no compassion, but to commit oppression over all without regard, either to mercy or justice.—The Emperor who is seated on the Royal Throne is famous for his mild and benignant rule over all people, and if your Highness has suffered as above mentioned, at the hands of the Siamese, why does not your Highness represent your case, and send a Relation or Minister of State to confer on the subject, so that the Emperor may be graciously pleased to send down an Army and attack the Siamese, and settle the affair by relieving your Highness from disgrace.—For an Army is in all readiness to march. and why should your Highness have remained all this time under a load of disgrace and distress—For your Highness of Kedah, is at no great distance, and if an Embassy cannot be sent so far as Ava, an Army now ready to the amount of 4, or 5,000, men can march, even from Tavoy—I am exceedingly anxious to be of assistance to your Highness on account of former friendly relations.—Now whatever is your Highness's desire, let a son or Minister be sent with a letter containing it, and I will forward it on to the Empire or even if it could not be sent so far, your Highness shall be assisted from Tavoy alone, and an Army of 4, or 5,000, men be sent to requite the deeds of the Siamese—If your Highness is willing to come yourself, in my opinion it would be best, and productive of most advantage, and I will go out to receive your Highness respectfully, so that no cause of uneasiness should exist."¹⁹

On the other hand the Siamese, by the early 19th century, having completely recovered from the Burmese invasion, were more powerful perhaps than ever

¹⁶ The Chief of the French Settlements in India.

¹⁷ Mlle Suzanne Karpeles was kind enough to furnish me this information from the Pondicherry Archives.

¹⁸ On failing to pay his customary offerings to the king of Siam and also refusing to visit the capital to refute the charges levelled against him by his brother, the Siamese army invaded Kedah 18 November 1821 and the Sultan fled to Penang on the 23rd.

¹⁹ N.A.I. Pol. Cons. 5 July 1822, No. 25.

before, resumed the traditional policy of establishing supremacy over the Malay States and Tenassarim province. Rowland, the Burmese translator mentioned above, says in his same report of May 1821 that "The King of Siam has collected a very formidable Army, consisting principally of Peguers who are now outcaste since the conquest of these territories by Alomphurra and of the Burmans who escaped from Tavoy about 15 years ago owing to tyranny and oppression which were inhumanly exercised by military powers then stationed at Tavoy. These Refugees have since settled at Siam and have on this occasion cheerfully volunteered to defend the King who has consented to supply the Army with ammunition and provisions. The refugees have been promised enjoyment of the countries which they originally possessed on paying tribute to the King of Siam, if the conquest be extensive and general, thus the Peguers are to have Rangoon, the Burmans Tavoy etc."²⁰

In the meanwhile a Cochin Chinese petty chief,²¹ who once professed the Christian religion, represented in 1821 to the Governor of Cambodia that a mine of wealth might be made by purchasing esculent swallows' nests²² in Ava and sending them for sale in China. The projector who was placed at the head of this commercial mission left for Burma, though not sanctioned by the Cochin-Chinese monarch. The mission arrived at Pulo Penang²³ where they met a Chinese national of Burma and to him they disclosed the mission with which they were entrusted by the Governor of Cambodia. They were taken by way of Tavoy²⁴ and in due course conducted to the Capital of Burma.

The Cochin-Chinese Mission informed the Burmese ministers that the late Emperor Gai-long²⁵ intended to send an Embassy to the King of Ava but the

²⁰ N.A.I. Foreign Misc. Vol. 171.

²¹ Caedoelam, a Military Officer of inferior rank.

²² The esculent nests of the *Hirundo esculenta*, the Lavit of the Javanese, a small dark-coloured swallow, with a greenish hue on the back, a bluish one on the breast, and no white mark. The nest consists of a marine fucus elaborated by the bird. During the forties of the last century, the average quantity of nest collected at Mergui, the southern district of Lower Burma, bounded on the west by Bay of Bengal and on the East by Siam, was from 50 to 60 viss annually. The prices ranged from Rs. 50 to 120 per viss. The major portion of this article was imported by China for the consumption of the rich and the nobility.

²³ Prince of Wales Island (named also Pulo Penang or betel-nut Island) is situated off the west coast of the Malay Peninsula.

²⁴ Hill and seaboard district of Tenasserim Division, Lower Burma.

²⁵ Following the death of King "Hien Vuong" in 1777, the kingdom of Cochin-China fell into disorder and the power passed into the hands of "Tysons". Consequently Nguyen-anh, who later assumed the style of Gai-long, the sole legitimate pretender to the throne, went into exile. After some years, Nguyen-anh gradually with the help of Georges Pierre Joseph Jigneau de Behaine, Bishop of Adren and a few French adventurers regained control over the country and ultimately became the ruler of "almost all the littoral of Indo-China, comprising Tongking, Cochin-China, part of Cambodia and certain islands off the coast". On receipt of the letter patent from the Emperor of China, the King was solemnly proclaimed Emperor of Tongking and Cochin-China on 28 February 1804. During his reign the English in 1778 and 1803-4 unsuccessfully tried to gain a foot-hold in that country.

proposal could not materialize due to the former's death in 1820²⁶. They also stated that there was some difference between them and the Siamese on the subject of Cambodia,²⁷ a part of that kingdom being in the possession of the Siamese. They said that if the Burmese and the Cochin-Chinese could unite against Siam, they could without difficulty conquer Siam and thus form an easy means of communication between the two countries and added that this business was receiving the attention of the Grand Council of the State.

We have already noticed that the King of Ava was full of ambition and mediating projects of conquest of Siam accordingly he resolved to take the opportunity of this Cochin-Chinese emissary's return; to send an Embassy to their monarch to seek his assistance in the conquest and partition of Siam.

The person selected to lead the Burmese mission was George Gibson, the same individual who had been earlier deputed to Pondicherry. He was a native of Madras and the son of an English father and a Telinga mother. His father seems to have been a mercenary Captain in the service of Indian rulers and lost his life in the Bay of Bengal. His education took place at Ngabek, a Catholic settlement situated to the north west of Amarapura, where he learnt to write and speak English, Portugese, a little of French and some oriental dialects, specially Telinga, "which may strictly be said to have been his mother tongue". He had read works on ancient history, and possessed a fund of general knowledge. He had made two voyages to Lisbon and had commanded several vessels. In a small Danish Brig belonging to the port of Tranquebar,²⁸ he visited Cochin China in the year 1798. In about 1795, he seems to have constructed one ship of three hundred tons for the Engy Tekein or Prince Royal, at Lyne, and afterwards floated her down to Rangoon during rains. His interest in geographical and commercial pursuits had caused him to explore almost every part of the Burmese dominion and conquests. He was frequently employed by Ba-gyi-daw and his grandfather in compiling maps of different portions of the empire from the charts and descriptive accounts drawn up by the King's subjects. Under these kings, he had held situations²⁹ of trust and particularly with Ba-gyi-daw, he had enjoyed considerable favour. He was intimately acquainted with language, customs and manners of the Burmese people, the nature and resources of its Government, and the character

²⁶ Crawford says that Gai-long died in 1819, at the age of sixty-three. Gibson also concurs with him.

²⁷ A protectorate within French Indo-China bounded on the north and west by Siam and the southwest by Gulf of Siam. The name *Kambuja*, whence the European form Cambodia, is derived from the *Kambu*, the name of the mythical founder of the Khmer race. The Hindu and Buddhist influence continued there till the middle of the fifteenth century when the sea route to India was closed by the entry of the Arabs into the Bay of Bengal.

²⁸ Town and port in the Mayavaram taluq of Tanjore District, Madras; former Danish Settlement (1620-1845) and mission centre.

²⁹ Such as Shah-Bandar or Collector of Customs, the only appointment under the Burmese Government occasionally held by a foreigner.

and disposition of its King and principal ministers. "Indeed . . . he was rather a well-accomplished Burmese than an English-man."

Gibson had maintained a Journal,³⁰ at the suggestion of Captain Bur - ³¹ of his mission to Cochin China. The Journal, although interesting "would have been quite unintelligible for the grammar is bad and the spelling worse" but for the interpretation and corrections made by Captain Burney in the text by referring the passages to Gibson "daily in order to ascertain his real meanings."

The journal reveals that the Burmese Mission left Ava on July the 21, 1822 and reached Rangoon³² on the 9th of the following month. After a few months stay for equipping the Mission with the necessaries, left Rangoon in the beginning of January 1823 in an European built Vessel and on February 26th reached Prince of Wales Island after touching Tavoy on their way.

Just as the Embassy ship, with the Cochin-Chinese Embassy on board was about to continue her voyage, she caught fire on March 24th and was destroyed. Upon Gibson's representation for aid the Penang Government "considering that it would be judicious and politic, as well as liberal, to afford the Embassy the succour they solicited, and thus give to the two Courts of Ava and Cochin China, a convincing proof of our readiness and desire to promote an interchange of good Offices", was pleased to make a pecuniary loan to the Embassy and to provide a passage for most of its members as far as Cape St. James³³ on board a Portuguese ship bound to Macao.³⁴

The Mission finally sailed on April 22 from Penang, reached Malacca³⁵ on May 2, Singapore³⁶ on the 12th, and on the 18th left Singapore and on June the 1st, reached the Anchorage of Vungtao or Cape St. James and the village

³⁰ N.A.I. Miscellaneous Records of the Foreign Department No. 174. The editing of this Manuscript has been taken up.

³¹ Burney, Henry (1792-1845). Military Secretary to Governor of Prince of Wales Island. Born in Calcutta 27 February 1792; Cadet 1807; arrived in India, 1808; Ensign 1808; Lieut. 1813; Captain 1823; Major 1828; Lieut. Col. 1834. During later part of his service he was employed on political duties. Died at sea on board the *Maidstone* on his way to England.

³² In July-August 1822 Henry Gouger, a young British merchant noticed Rangoon "a miserable, dirty town, containing 8,000 or 10,000 inhabitants, the houses being built of bamboo and teak planks with thatched roofs,—almost without drainage and intersected by muddy creeks, through which tide flowed at high water."

³³ This cape forms the eastern entrance of the river Saigon, in Cochin China, lat. 10°23' N., lon. 106°48' E.

³⁴ A Portuguese settlement in China, situated on a peninsula, which projects from the south end of a large peninsula, in the district of Heong-shan, province of Canton.

³⁵ A town in the Malayan straits, situated near the southern extremity of the peninsula, lat. 2°14' N., lon. 102°12' E. It is named from a fruit-bearing tree the malaka (the myrobalanum), found in abundance on the hill that gives the natural strength to the position.

³⁶ The island was taken possession of by the British on 26 February 1810.

of Canjee on the 6th, and arrived at Saigon³⁷ two days later. The Mission, although well entertained at the latter place for a period of nine months, was not permitted to proceed to the Capital.

During the course of the conversation with the Burmese Mission, the cautious Cochin-Chinese officials enquired of the Mission "why the Burmese so powerful a people were unable, after so many attacks, to conquer the Siamese and what benefit could arise from an alliance between the Burmese and Cochin-Chinese since they were at so great a distance and therefore not in a condition to act in concert." Further they enquired "whether they were in earnest when they said they intended to make war on the Siamese." Subsequently they mentioned that the Governor General of Saigon "was well acquainted with the members of the Siamese forces, their discipline and the Siamese mode of conducting war but he was perfectly ignorant of the nature of the Burman Army and the habit of their warfare. He would therefore never undertake an important business of this description without being made fully acquainted with the Burman Nation and their Military conditions."

When the question ultimately came before the Grand Council, the Mandarin of the Strangers³⁸ was opposed to the Burmese alliance, asserting that it would alarm³⁹ the Siamese. The King of Cochin-China at the instance of the Governor General of Saigon and the French gentlemen at the Court was originally inclined in favour of Ava but later on changed his mind. He finally declined to have any alliance with the Court of Ava and made the confident assertion that "he could conquer⁴⁰ the Siamese in an instant if he so desired" without any aid from Ava.

³⁷ The town is on the right bank of the river Saigon, 34 miles from the sea. Before the French conquest, Saigon was the capital of Lower Cochin China, which consisted of the "six southern provinces" of the Annamese empire, and constituted a vice-royalty under the Government of a *Kinhluoc*.

³⁸ The Minister of Foreign Affairs.

³⁹ The despatch of Cochin-Chinese Embassy to Ava had excited distrust and jealousy in the Siamese, who as we have already noticed, regarded the Burmans as their natural and most implacable enemies. The Siamese immediately sent an Embassy to Cochin-China for the avowed purpose of discovering the motives of the embassy to Ava, as well as to ascertain the views of the new king towards the Siamese. In return the Cochin-Chinese dispatched an embassy to Siam as complimentary to the Siamese. The Embassy arrived at Bangkok on the night of May 8, 1822. The Siamese Court received the embassy with much respect and presented them to the king on May 11. The object of the Embassy was to assure the King of Siam of the Cochin-Chinese King's good intentions and of his desire to confirm the bonds of amity. The Embassy left Bangkok on the afternoon of 11 June 1822.

⁴⁰ Crawford, who visited Cochin China a year before the visit of the Burmese Mission, testifies to the statement and in his report submitted to the Governor General of India, he says "If these two Nations should quarrel altho' neither be suited to maintain a permanent dominion over the other, yet an ambitious Cochin-Chinese Prince would find no difficulty in seizing the Siamese portion of Kamboja, of making formidable inroads into the Siamese territory, and especially of destroying or sacking the Capital, which would, defenceless as it is, would fall an easy pray to any sudden incursion." N.A.I. Pol. Cons. 27 June, 1823, No. 13; *Crawford Papers*—Bangkok 1915.

FEW NOTES ABOUT A MANUSCRIPT ON A BURMESE EMBASSY TO COCHIN CHINA

By Suzanne Karpelès

A.—*The Manuscript:*

The National Archives of India detains a manuscript in a fairly good state which bears the following title: "Embassy to Cochin China 1822"¹ and which the "Handbook to the Records of the Government of India"² describes as a "curious account of an embassy to Cochin China said to have been sent in 1822 by order of the Emperor of Ava. It abounds with much curious information respecting the movements of the French in that quarter: The embassy was composed of G. Gibson, as the head, and a number of local men". At our knowledge, there are two other documents referring to the same manuscript. One is John Crawford's "Journal of an Embassy to the courts of Siam and Cochin China"³ and the other is a letter written by Captain Burney⁴.

John Crawford considered worth giving "a succinct account of it appending" his book. "The original", he writes, "was replete with errors in grammar and orthography in every line and therefore the manuscript as he (Gibson) wrote it⁵ was not only unfit for transcription. but in reality nearly unintelligible without his own personal comments and explanations. "Therefore (John Crawford) made an abstract of it, preserving as far as was practicable the writer's own modes of expression".

Burney's document reveals not only that it was at his request that Gibson wrote his Journal and handed him over a copy, but also that he was obliged to undertake "the very laborious task" of copying himself the whole of it to send it to the "Honourable Governor". He adds that had he not been able to refer "daily to Gibson", he could not have "ascertain his real meanings".

From the above statements one may wonder to which manuscript the "Handbook to the Records of the Government of India" alludes: no mention of the "errors" rendering the Journal "unintelligible" being made.

An eminent Orientalist Mlle Karpelès is chiefly known for the part she has played in unravelling the ancient past of French and Indo-China and its many links with Indian and Chinese civilisations. As member of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient she has been mainly responsible for the reorganisation of the Ecole whose activities were interrupted by the Japanese invasion. She is now the Secretary of the Institute.

¹ National Archives of India; Foreign Department—Ms. Vol. No. 174 "Embassy to Cochin-China. 1822".

² Imperial Record Department, 1748-1859, page 76. 1925 Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta.

³ John Crawford: Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochinehina, London, 1830. Vol. II, pp. 409-441—Appendix A.

⁴ National Archives of India; Foreign Department. Secret Proceedings, 19 Nov. 1824, No. 17.

⁵ One may presume, that as he distributed his Journal to Burney and Crawford, as far as we know, he must have had several transcribed copies at his disposal.

On looking carefully to the present manuscript available at the National Archives of India one notices four different handwritings in the text⁶; the numbers of the pagination, probably for binding purposes, are in bright black pencil; the whole of the ink written text is covered with fading pencil corrections and notes which are all of the same and one handwriting, being without doubt the hand-writing, of an energetic educated man contrasting with those of the copyists. If one compares it⁷ with the original documents written or signed by Captain Burney himself, one is struck by the close similarity they offer with one another. May we infer that this manuscript is the rough draft worked out by Captain Burney before writing the copy he sent to the Governor?

B.—*The author of the manuscript.*

Up to now the few details one has been able to collect about Gibson are mostly to be found in Crawford's Journal⁸, Captain Burney's already mentioned letter⁹, the Burney Papers¹⁰, and the study devoted to the French naturalist P. M. DIARD. From these different sources one is aware that Gibson's mother was from Madras, that his father was an Englishman; that he resided many years in Burma where he held many important posts and knew all about Burma's geography, customs and language; the same can't be said about his English knowledge. But notwithstanding this deficiency. John Crawford describes him as "a person of much acuteness" well acquainted also with the Portuguese, Hindostani and Telinga languages.

From Gibson's Journal¹² we gather that he came to Cochin China a first time in 1798 meeting the then leading Frenchmen.

Doctor DIARD, the French naturalist, was so attracted by Gibson's wide knowledge about the customs and people of the East Indies that very soon they became friends and Gibson not foreseeing the English invasion of Burma, invited his new friend DIARD to come over with him to Pegu.

⁶ From page 1 to 45, one kind of handwriting, another from page 45 to 117, a third one from page 117 to 187 and a fourth one from page 187 to page 272.

⁷ Thanks to Mr. S. K. SAXENA of the National Archives of India we were able to compare the handwriting of different Burney documents and we both came to the same conclusion.

⁸ John CRAWFORD, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 410-411.

⁹ *Vide* note 4.

¹⁰ The Burney Papers. Printed by order of the Vajiranana National Library, Bangkok, 1910, Vol. I, p. 745.

¹¹ "Vie, Voyages et Travaux de Pierre Médard DIARD, naturaliste français", par J. PEYSSONNAUX, Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué, vingt deuxième année 1935, pp. 51-54. G. FINLAYSON, Mission to Siam and Hué, London, 1826, pp. 307-309.

¹² GIBSON, ms. p. 168.

As for Captain Burney, he writes that he "discovered also that Mr. Gibson fully understood the principle of Geography" having been often employed by the Emperor of Ava "to draw maps of the country". He supplied Captain Burney "with interesting details". Besides, in the Burney Papers it is mentioned that "Mr. Gibson, whose local knowledge enabled him to afford the most useful information, as adverted to by Captain Burney".

The above Englishmen's appreciation explain why they secured the services of "the Ex-Ambassador of his Burmese Majesty" (who) entered the British service as interpreter and died of cholera while the British "army was on its march to Prome"¹³.

C.—*Vietnamese Historical Records.*

Up to now, the two Vietnamese documents¹⁴ giving an account of Gibson's Embassy were neither published nor translated into any European book or language. They belong to the Vietnamese Historical Chronicles¹⁵ and convey a pure local aspect of the subject. From the historical point of view, a tale is good till another is told, that is why we thought it necessary to give both, each one of them bringing details which are not found in Gibson's Journal and at the same time being a new evidence of Gibson's accuracy.

I. The Big South's (Vietnam kingdom) collection of Rules and Customs¹⁶.

Abstract from the Part devoted to the Ministry of Rites concerning Foreigners.

About Burma

During Minh-Mang fourth year reign (1823)¹⁷, Burmese Messengers came to Gia-dinh citadel bringing a royal letter and presents from their king offering his submissiveness.

The Emperor Minh-Mang ordered thus: "Coming from a distant over-sea journey, those Burmese messengers should not be sent back inconsiderably. The Gia-dinh province Governor will welcome them in gentle disposition and provide them with accommodation". Moreover, the Emperor allowed that every month the chief messenger should receive 10 sapeca ligatures¹⁸; the

¹³ John CRAWFORD, op. cit., p. 411.

¹⁴ I am indebted to the Vietnamese Pandit of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Mr. TRAN-HAM-TAN for finding out the only existing documents about Gibson's embassy and making a rough French translation which we overlooked.

¹⁵ The originals have all been destroyed at Hué and the Library of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient is now the only one in Indochina to detain a complete set of them, having formerly taken copies of the whole Vietnamese Records.

¹⁶ Or Khâm Dinh Dai-Nam Hôì Diên su Lê (A 54 E.F.E.O.'s Library Hanoi).

¹⁷ Ascended the throne in 1819-1820.

¹⁸ William MILBURN: *Oriental Commerce*, London 1925 page 444: *Coins* The country's currency is a sort of cash, called sappica composed chiefly of tutenague, 600 making a quan; this is divided into 10 mace of 60 cash each, the whole strung together, and divided by a knot at each mace. Those received from the King in payment for goods are always new. . . .

assistant messengers 8 sapeca ligatures each, the three following messengers 6 sapeca ligatures each, the forty servants 3 sapeca ligatures each. Beside each of them will get every month a bushel of white rice. In his decree the Emperor thus declared: "The king has sent an Embassy from Burma to the Gia-dinh Province, with a royal letter and several presents to convey his submissiveness. The Governor of Gia-dinh town had this letter translated¹⁹, after which he brought it to my knowledge. I then noticed that the letter contained unfeeling words, in brief the letter said that formerly the Burmese kingdom always wished to be on good terms with us, twice, during Gialong's reign (1802-1819) it had sent an embassy which each time was unable to reach our country. On hearing today that I had just ascended the throne, Burma rejoiced about it; the king sends us, with due respect, an Embassy to bring this letter asking us persistently to give up our intercourses with Siam. This very fact, reminds me of the time when my Father was still in the Siamese Kingdom²⁰, whose former king sent once reinforcement troops to help my Father. But Siam had sent officers who were bad people. Wherever they went, they plundered the people. Our people lost faith and it happened that the Siamese reinforcements were attacked by our enemies (Tay-son). Without delay the Siamese were defeated and since that time the Brothers of the former king of Siam, anticipating with terror the enemies power, dared no more to utter a word about sending reinforcements.

"My Father endued with Wisdom and Prudence, realized it was useless asking reinforcement to the Siamese; he had to take this opportunity, and the same night on His own, He decided to return by sea to His Country²¹. Henceforth, his old servants came back to Him and He accepted new partisans. Wherever He went, He defeated the enemies and vanquished them. Finally having united all His territory my Father possessed the whole Viet kingdom, without having applied for reinforcement, nor even an arrow or a bow from the Siamese kingdom. Not only did His Subjects and the people of the Viet kingdom know about it but also the Foreigners who respected Him and payed regards to His military attainments, considered as wonderful gift. Nevertheless, my Father did not forget that in the beginning²², the Siamese had been kind hearted towards Him and that they were His neighbours. This is why, since by gone times, He allowed intercourses between us and this kingdom. I, being His respectful successor on ascending this powerful throne, I follow the ancient customs of Our kingdom. I won't listen to any other advice and cease to permit any intercourse with Siam of my own free will. If it happens that one day, Siam intrigues and attack us on our frontiers, there is a Justice:

¹⁹ Gibson Ms. page 41. "His Excellency wishes to have the Letter translated to sent to His Majesty the King of Cochin-China to be informed on the subject of our Mission.

²⁰ A first time in 1784 and a second time in 1787.

²¹ Gibson Ms. p. 175. Gibson describes how King Gia-long "forced his way out of Siam".

²² In 1784.

having acted boldly, I am powerful, and Heaven (my Father) will surely help me. I'll be doubly successful with half the trouble. From my point of view there is surely no reason at present why I should break this alliance; it would provoke the enemy and strain my soldiers. For this once, the Burmese proposal is rejected".

From a court decision it was allowed to give a compensation to the king of Burma by sending Him: three pounds of Thanh-Hoa cinnamon²³, five pounds of Nghê-an cinnamon, ten pounds of Quang-nam cinnamon, hundred pieces of Gauze²⁴, hundred pieces of silk, hundred pieces of fine coloured silk, hundred pieces of coarse silk and one thousand pounds of Sugar²⁵.

The first Ambassador will receive a satin dress decorated with dragons²⁶ opening in front on both sides with a belt, hundred ounces of silver; the assistant will receive the same dress and eight ounces of silver; the five following messengers will each receive a black velvet dress, opening on the front and a belt, and each of them will get beside sixty ounces of silver; each of the forty escort soldiers will get ten dresses of red woollen lasting, opening on the front, a belt and four ounces of silver. The only present accepted, from Burma is a ring with a precious red stone: all the other presents are returned.

The day previous to their departure the Governor of Gia-dinh shall entertain them, and have a theatrical performance given to them.²⁷ He will, beside, provide them with three months travelling allowances in sapeca and rice²⁸. Moreover we will send an officer with a body of soldiers to escort them up to their country.

²³ Crevost et Lemarié : Catalogue des produits de l'Indochine, tome Ier, Hanoi, pp. 294-295. The first quality of cinnamon comes from the Thanh-hoa Province, the second quality from the Nghê-an Province and the third one from Quang-ngai. The Vietnamese cinnamon is much appreciated in China, where the best qualities are sold at a very high price, on account of its therapeutic virtues.

²⁴ G. FINLAYSON, op. cit., p. 311 "Crapes, satins, and silks are alone in use, the greater number of them the manufacture of China or of Tonquin, there being in fact, little or no manufacturing industry here".

²⁵ William MILBURN, op. cit. : p. 441. "The principal article of produce for a cargo to India is sugar, of which there are three sorts : sugar candy, white powder sugar, middling sort, similar to Manilla sugar, and brown powder sugar. The sugar-candy is the finest in the world, and is much esteemed at China".

²⁶ The dragon is the symbol of Majesty and Power.

²⁷ GIBSON'S. Ms. page 254 " to take our leave", p. 255, "and afterwards we went to the Play House we was served out with a Collection of sweetmeats and Plays begin afterwards to act the Tragedy of Seva". Or Leva, a very popular historical Chinese drama translated into Vietnamese; was still acted on the Vietnamese stages. The correct title is : Phàn-lê-Hoa or "the orchard of the bloomy pear trees".

²⁸ GIBSON'S. Ms. p. 247 "We received 516 quoons and 141 Baskets of Rice Calculating for three months Provision for our voyage".

II. Big South's Veridical History²⁹.

At the end of Ming-Mang's 4th year reign (1823), the King of Burma sent us an envoy to give evidence of his respectful submissiveness.

Previously the Governor General of Gia-dinh, by name Lê-van-Duyêt had sent to foreign countries, such as English ones, his assistant called Nguyễn-van-Dô on a merchantman in order to purchase military engines. Owing to strong gale, the boat was driven to the Burmese province of Dào-oa³⁰. The Governor of that province arrested the foreigner Nguyễn-van-Dô and took him to the citadel of An-hoà³¹, where the King, suspecting him to be a Siamese spy, had him subtly cross-examined. When they heard that, coming from our Big South Empire, he had lost his way, he was enthusiastically welcomed and sent back to his native country. Taking this opportunity, the King of Burma sent us his messengers: Hop-thân-thang-thu³², Nê mieutichi,³³ Tu gia-nô-tha³⁴, bearers of a royal letter and of the following presents: a golden seal, 40 golden rings, a red lackered betel box, one string of fireproof pearls³⁵, a red felt carpet, 2 deep red silk hangings; 2 red coarse silk hangings. When they arrived at Gia-dinh, over Governor had the letter translated and brought it to the Emperor's knowledge.

"The letter stated that up to now, their kingdom had been ready to establish sincere intercourses with our Empire. During the reign of Gia-long (1802-1819) twice, a burmese embassy had been hindered from reaching. Our country. The Emperor Minh-Mang having just ascended on the throne, the Burmese kingdom rejoiced about it and sent Him this letter in which besides, it was also stated that Burma begged Him to give up the alliance with the Siamese kingdom.

"The Emperor called his ministers Nguyễn-duc-Huyền and Trần-van-Tĩnh to discuss about this matter and said: "Burma and Siam are mutual enemies. Now we know why Burma has come here to pay her respectful submissiveness. We are already allied with the Siamese. If we accept also an alliance with Burma, certainly the Siamese will loose faith in us; it would be more desirable to give lavish presents to the Burmese ambassadors and send them back to their country".

29 Or Dai Nam Thât Luc, principal part, second series, 24th chapter, fascicle 23b to 26a, A 27. Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient's Library Hanoi.

30 Tavoy.

31 Ava-Enva.

32 GIBSON?

33 Nemio Siri, the end of the name is missing.

34 Sura Nurattha, in Gibson's Ms. we find: Nemis Sirit Sura Noratha.

35 A pearl, said to be the concrete essence of the moon, collected within the oyster shell by the action of the "Yin" or negative principal in nature. Is a charm against fire. (H. A GILES, Chinese-English Dictionary, London, 1892, page 263, No. 2549).

"Nguyễn-huu-Thân and Nguyễn-van-Hung spoke differently³⁶: "For a long time past, we don't care admitting foreigners; but when they come, we welcome them; moreover it is not our business to know whether Burma and Siam are enemies. If we don't receive the Burmese embassy do we know whether it will please the Siamese? That is why we beg you to receive the Burmese embassy". The Emperor spoke thus to his ministers: "I am thinking of my Father while He was in Siam (as a refugee); the former king of Siam, to help Him once, sent (here) reinforcement troops. But the officers were bad people and wherever they went, they seized the people's property. The people here lost faith. Beaten by the enemies, the Siamese officers at once ran away. Since then the Siamese, fearing the foe's power, did not even dare mention sending other reinforcements. My Father endowed with wisdom and wariness for this reason knew, that one day a good opportunity would occur and that one would need no more to apply to Siam for reinforcement. On His own account He thus decided to move forward by ways and means of Sea, and returned to His kingdom. Henceforth He had His old followers called back and welcomed new ones. Wherever He went He defeated the enemy who submitted and finally recaptured the whole Viet kingdom making one map of His territory. Never did He even borrow a bow or arrow from Siam. Not only the people and the subjects of my kingdom acknowledge Heaven's power (my Father's) but also the foreigners recognized His military skill. Nevertheless, my Father did not forget that Siam had shown some kindness and besides Siam is our neighbour. That is why my Father authorised Siam to have intercourses with us. I follow the ancient rule, I won't listen to other voices and on my own account interrupt our intercourses with Siam. If some day Siam had to charge us with certain matters it would cause us prejudice and bring war on our frontier. If justified in declaring the war, Siam will be victorious, with Heaven's help. As for us, we will get what we deserve. In my opinion, we have no reason today to relinquish our alliance, provoquing the enemy and wearing out our troops. The Burmese proposal is unacceptable but nevertheless I don't lose sight of the fact that these messengers crossed distant seas to come over here and during their journey sustained damages due to fire³⁷: we have to send presents and compensations to their king and to themselves.

³⁶ GIBSON'S Ms. pp. 237, 238, 240 "Mr. Diard . . . related me all the Particular of the Transaction and debate in the Grand Council concern our Business, the Grand Mandarin of the strangers made a speech of the alliance with Barman would alarm the Siam and change their sentiment on the Present Proceeding . . . His Excellency Tanin the Prime Minister . . . spoke and represented the King in our favour".

³⁷ GIBSON'S Ms. page 14 " . . . a China junk from Siam . . . was seen on Fire . . . she drifted upon us . . . we were entangled together and unavoidable by the will of Providence both was burnt, and had hardly time to throw all the Powder over board, and the Box of Jewels and Silk Cloth with Government Letter saved from the fire she drifted up and went down near abreast of the Fort (at Prince of Wales Island).

Presents for the King.—23 pounds of cinnamon, hundred pieces of gauze, of ordinary silk, of white silk, of coarse silk and 1000 pounds of sugar.

Reward to the messengers.—100 pounds of silver for the chief messenger, 80 to the assistant messenger and to both, a satin dress decorated with dragons and opening on each side, and a belt; 60 pounds of silver, one black velvet dress opening on the front and a belt to each of the five following assistants: 4 pounds of silver and a red crape dress opening on the front and a belt for each of the forty servants.

“A courtier was entrusted with the care of writing a reply to the king. Our courtiers begged the Emperor to agree to accept the gift of a golden ring with a precious red stone, not to hurt the feelings of the Foreigners. The Emperor gave his consent. Our mandarins Nguyễn-van-Uân and Hoàng-Trung were entrusted with the care of bringing back the messengers to Burma on armed ships ³⁸ and provide six months’³⁹ expenses and stores. After having performed their mission they returned. By the Emperor’s order, our Rite’s Minister brought the matter to Siam’s notice”.

D.—*Recapitulation.*

It is at Captain Burney’s request that Gibson wrote his Journal.

It is Captain Burney himself who has corrected the manuscript of Gibson’s Journal of the Indian National Archives.

The Vietnamese historiographers have also brought their contribution to the history of the Burmese Embassy to Cochinchina in the early nineteenth century.

³⁸ GIBSON’S. Ms. p. 238 “ . . . Carrying us back with their armed vessel . . . ”.

³⁹ See note 28.

GIBSON’S. Ms. and the abstract from the “Big South’s Collection of Rules and Customs” speak only of the three months voyage “Going”. Here it must include the “Return” passage of the Vietnamese staff.

METCALFE AND JAIPUR

By Y. C. Gaur

"Two successive minorities which followed the death of Jagat Singh in 1818 gave rise to opportunities for strife over the succession, and for much mis-government".¹ Here we are concerned with the affairs of the state of Jaipur during the minority of Sawai Jai Singh III, posthumous son of Maharaja Jagat Singh. It was during his minority that circumstances led to the deputation (in 1820) for the first time of a British Officer to reside at the capital of the State, which was administered by a Council of Regency headed by the Regent Maharani Bhattianiji Sahiba,² popularly known as Maji.

There are a large number of nobles and thakurs belonging to the twelve "Kot-ris" founded by a former ruler in Jaipur State. During Jai Singh's minority many of the principal nobles and feudatories were extremely dissatisfied with the chaotic and unsettled condition of the State. They demanded removal of the Regent and her two favourite ministers. British functionaries under a mistaken notion of the existence of a law or custom in Jaipur State, by which the chiefs were at liberty to meet and elect a Regency after the minor Raja had obtained a certain age, had encouraged and supported the chiefs, many of whom were avowedly bent on her removal, in assembling to deliberate, contrary to the wish and in opposition to the prohibition of the Regent, the Rani. The majority of the chiefs having unexpectedly decided in favour of her continuance in power, there was every reason to apprehend that the minority, including several of the principal chiefs, might suffer from the vengeance of the Regent and her favourites, by whom she was influenced, and to whom from their known disposition, they were obnoxious, and it became incumbent on the British Government to shield them from that vengeance, as they had sanctioned the proceedings which had roused it. It fell to the lot of Metcalfe, the then Resident of Delhi and Paramount Power's representative to become the arbiter of these quarrels. According to Thompson "he had fallen heir to a sea of troubles",³ and he hurried to Jaipur, had personal conferences with the Regent and the Thakurs and by mutual consent reached a working agreement between the two contending parties by which he extended the British Government's guarantee of protection against oppression to these nobles much against his political creed of non-intervention. His position was clear. The necessity of guaranteeing the feudatories, as he had later confessed, "arose out of our previous interference in the affairs

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¹ *Gazetteer of Jaipur* by Major C. A. Baylay, p. 137.

² Foreign Dept. Misc. (Jeypore Papers) 1831-32, vol. 1, No. 283, p. 343.

³ *The Making of the Indian Princes* by Ed. Thompson, p. 178.

of Jaipur"⁴ and is "part of the embarrassment to which such interference is sure to lead⁵". This arrangement was not to last long. The Jaipur administration continued to perpetuate internal feuds and defaulted in the payment of the British tribute already much in arrears. It was here that the British Government were most concerned and they declared that under a clause of the treaty with the Jaipur Raja they were entitled both by right and duty to bring about an improvement in the management of the affairs of the principality. A variety of administrative reforms were suggested which militated against the pecuniary interests of the Regent and as such met with great opposition. The Chief Minister was urged by the British Government to introduce some reforms which he did at the cost of his Premiership. This again gave rise to serious internal and internecine quarrels which continued to agitate the state for a long time. To cap all this, the Regent's decision to wrest the fortress of Ranthambhor from the joint guardianship of the Chiefs of the State and to garrison it with the state forces alone, added fuel to the fire. The Chiefs rose in armed revolt against the Regent and were determined to vindicate their hereditary privileges and rights. At this time the Regent found herself in a precarious situation and was alleged to be secretly engaging the goodwill of the Ruler of Alwar⁶ against the insurgent feudatories. This secret engagement could not escape the vigilant eye of the British Government and had to be abandoned. The Regent then asked for British support in order to suppress the rebellion of the chiefs. Local British functionaries were inclined in her favour. The matter was referred to Metcalfe, who had been in the meantime elevated to the position of Vice-President of the Council of the Governor General and Deputy Governor of Fort William. He was Resident at Delhi when the original treaty was concluded with Jaipur, and also when the guarantee referred to was given. As such utmost respect was due to his opinions and views on the subject which are contained in the following minute⁷ ably recommending non-intervention in the internal concerns of the State:

"I am desirous of offering my sentiments on the immediate cause of the existing disturbances in the state of Jypoor, the character of which appears to me to be misunderstood by some of our local functionaries, who seem to consider the attempt of the Regent Ranee and her Minister, to wrest the Fortress of Runtumbhour from the Guardianship of the Chiefs of the State to whom it has hitherto been constitutionally entrusted, as an ordinary exercise of legitimate authority, which they have no right to oppose.

"The Fortress of Runtumbhour may be regarded as the National Fortress of the state of Jypoor. It is a place of great celebrity, respecting the possession of which, the Jypoor Nation are proud and peculiarly jealous. The Jypoor state

⁴ For. Dept. Misc. 1830-32, vol. No. 238, p. 103.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ For. Dept. Misc. 1831-32 (Delhi & Illwaur) vol. No. 279, pp. 1-3, 7, 126-27, 130-31, 246, 274-79.

⁷ For. Dept. Misc. 1830-32, Vol. No. 238, pp. 123-30.

is not a mere Despotism. It is a confederacy consisting of a Prince and an Aristocracy composed for the most part of Chiefs of the same descent with the Prince. The state has been maintained by the Power of this confederacy, not by the unaided power of the Prince alone, and the Chiefs of the confederacy have their rights as well as the Prince. One of those rights or customary privileges, with respect to a certain number of them, is the joint defence of the Fortress of Runtumblour in common with their Prince, he and each Chief, to whom the charge belongs, furnishing a portion of the Garrison.

“An attempt to dissolve this long established arrangement, and to reduce the Fortress to the condition of a fortification garrisoned exclusively by Government troops, would probably have been resisted at any time, under the most powerful and most popular Prince of Jypoor, but happening at a time, when the Prince is a Minor, the Regent a Foreign Princess, and the Minister, not belonging to the Jypoor Aristocracy, this violation of the constitutional charter seems peculiarly bold and indecent, and I am not surprised that it is opposed by those whose privileges are thus invaded.

“I do not know that we are called on to interfere in this internal struggle. If the Regency can effect its purpose, I am not aware that we can be required to prevent it. But if we were by any circumstances compelled to interfere our influence ought I conceive to be exercised rather to maintain the long established privilege of the Chiefs in this particular than to support the antinational and unconstitutional attempt of the Government, an attempt that never most probably would have been conceived, had it not been for the unnatural preponderance, which the connection with us gives to Native Governments over those, on whom otherwise they would necessarily lean for support, and who would then exercise a wholesome check on maladministration.

“I cannot concur with those local Functionaries, who lament in exaggerated terms, the dissensions in the Jypoor state proceeding from the cause adverted to, as if they were proofs of the mischief of abstaining from interference in the internal affairs of Foreign states. They are to my mind proofs of the evils of interference, the antecedent cause of that state of things, which has led to these consequences; and if, as the result of our non-interference on the present occasion, the Chiefs recover that influence in the management of the state, which is their due, and which they have lost owing to our previous interference, I shall hail it as decidedly beneficial. Internal Disturbances in native states may some time happen when we do not interfere, but if discontent be a natural cause for disturbances, they are more likely to happen when we do interfere, and altho’ we may quell them and keep them down by the strong arm of our power, we at the same time crush the internal independence of every state and revolutionize every country, with which we meddle, leaving nothing but wretched Government and oppressed subjects, and heaping on our own heads the responsibility of misrule, until the evils that we create become too bad to be borne, and then we go farther and farther in the career of interference without end.

“Reverting to the affairs of Jypoor, in order to avoid misconstruction I take this opportunity to state, that in my opinion those Chiefs, who have taken up arms against the Government in open insurrection in the Fields and have not limited their resistance to the maintenance of their posts in Runtumbhour, have necessarily forfeited our guarantee, if they were before entitled to it, for although I think them justified as Chiefs of the Jypoor state, in taking up arms against the Government which has attempted to deprive them of a long established right or privilege, they nevertheless appear to me in placing themselves in a state of offensive warfare against their Government voluntarily to throw off the guarantee, which was only intended to secure them from peculiar individual oppression in a state of submission and cannot reasonably be extended to save them from the consequences of their open hostility. They have appealed to arms, and must abide by the issue.

“In speaking of that guarantee, the Resident at Dehlee I perceive remarks, that the practical difficulties attending its execution, have greatly exceeded what were anticipated, and have also been enhanced by the erroneous view of the scope of the guarantee occasionally taken by the local agents. In the latter part of these sentiments I am disposed to concur, believing that the views of the local agents may have had that tendency; but I am not aware what great practical difficulties have attended this particular Guarantee, beyond what were likely to attend such an act of interference in the affairs of a Foreign state, rendered unavoidable, by other acts of interference, which had preceded it”.

Metcalfe had immense influence with the Government which came from the ruthlessly direct and unsentimental style of his writings. The Governor General was “disposed to concur very generally”⁸ in his opinions, respecting the *Qiladari* of Ranthambhor. The British Government declared their resolution to the Rani that they did not propose to interfere in the internal affairs of the Jaipur State. This decisive and farsighted policy knocked the bottom out of the civil commotion. Both the parties had to fall back on their own resources. Accordingly the Regent of Jaipur gave up “all idea of capturing Ranthambhore”⁹ and “ordered her forces to their respective cantonments” and an accommodation was reached between the Regent and the insurgent Chiefs. Consequently tranquillity was restored in the state of Jaipur and the Thakurs were re-admitted to the Court “on terms of reciprocal confidence without any necessity having arisen for the intervention of the British Government”.¹⁰

⁸ For. Dept. Misc. (Jeypore Papers) 1831-32, Vol. No. 283, pp.71-72.

⁹ For. Dept. Misc. (Jeypore Papers) 1831-32, Vol. 1, No. 283, pp. 85 and 521.

¹⁰ For. Dept. Misc. (Jeypore Papers) 1831-32, Vol. 1, No. 283, p. 653.

DELHI DIARY OF 1825

By Hari Ram Gupta

In the National Archives of India there are some stray copies of certain newspapers of the 19th century both in Persian and Urdu. The earliest of them is the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, a Persian weekly beginning from December, 1824. To each Persian issue consisting of four sheets are attached two sheets of news in Urdu. This newspaper was issued from Calcutta, and was printed at the Mission Press. It has all sorts of news such as appointment of English officers, Government advertisements, school and college examinations and public auctions. There are news about Indian ruling princes like the Emperor of Delhi, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Nawab of Oudh, Sindhia, Holkar and the rulers of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kotah, Hyderabad and Bhawalpur. Almost all the important places in India and some foreign countries have their news in the columns of this Paper. Among the notable Indian names may be mentioned Kashmir, Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Multan, Lahore, Delhi, Bharatpur, Lucknow, Bombay, Bassein, Poona, Madras, Calcutta, Dacca and Chittagong. Some of the foreign countries included in the news item are Burma, China, Kabul, Iran, Muscat and England.

In this weekly almost day-to-day news are given about Delhi, the capital of the Great Mughals, whose descendant Akbar Shah II ruled there. He had succeeded to the throne in 1806, three years after the English had taken possession of Delhi. This Emperor tried to imitate his mighty ancestors in holding darbars, conferring titles and khilats, enjoying the performances of dancing girls but otherwise he had to seek assistance of the British Agent posted at Delhi, concerning a theft in the palace, for importing commodities in the Fort, and to move out of his residence to visit important places in the city and its suburbs. A study of the news of 1825 reveals the fact that the Emperor was free from communal prejudices. The Moghul Emperor celebrated the Hindu festivals, and on the day of Id sacrificed only sheep, goats and camels. The holy water of the Ganges was used for sacred purposes. The English on their part scrupulously followed all the rules of court etiquette, and took every care to maintain a sort

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of semblance of royalty of the Emperor. Thus we find the Governor-General sending presents from Calcutta for the Emperor. The British Agent, though to all intents and purposes *de facto* ruler, frequently waited on the Emperor, attended the darbars and saluted him by a discharge of guns whenever the Emperor left the fort. Below are mentioned a few striking events concerning the Emperor and the Agent.

Arrival of Lord Bishop

The Lord Bishop reached Delhi on the 31st December, 1824. Mr. Elliot, the Agent, received him on the bank of the Jumna, and when the Lord Bishop entered the Agent's bungalow he was given a salute of gunfire. The Lord Bishop visited the Qutab Minar and Safdar Jang's tomb and he was entertained with fireworks. On the 1st January, 1825, the emperor received the Lord Bishop at a darbar. The Diwan-i-khas was decorated with curtains of scarlet colour and fine carpets. The Emperor came there accompanied by princes, and seated himself in a golden chair. Mr. Elliot introduced the Lord Bishop, who offered a nazr of fifty-one gold mohurs to the Emperor, five to the Heir Apparent and two for the Queen. The Lord Bishop was granted a rich khilat of six pieces, a double-stringed necklace of pearls and a horse. At departure the Lord Bishop presented eleven gold mohurs and a copy of the Bible, and received seven trays of food and one betel-box. Afterwards Mr. Elliot in the company of Lord Bishop visited the Kothi of Lala Shugan Chand, accepted a present of a few pieces of apparel, a horse and scent, and returned to their residence by the Jama Masjid and the Siyah Masjid. Lord Bishop left on the 5th January for Mathura and was given a salute of gunfire.

Hindu Chamberlain

On the 20th January 1825 Raja Sohan Lal was appointed by the Emperor Chamberlain in place of Hakim Rukan-ud-din Khan who cheated the imperial family of their just dues.

Visit to a Tomb

On the 15th February the Emperor rode on an elephant. A salute of guns was discharged when he went out of the fort. He reached the tomb of Mir Muhammadi and offered perfumes and rose water. While leaving he was presented with a turban and a pot of sweets. The Emperor then repaired to the Qutab and enjoyed hunting for a while. Abdullah Beg presented him with a melon which was ordered to be sent to the Queen.

Ochterlony in the City

General Ochterlony entered Delhi on the 23rd February, and was greeted by a salute of guns. Amir Singh, agent of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, presented the English Commander on behalf of his master with twenty-eight trays of clothes such as shawls, handkerchiefs and bed sheets, and one fully caprisoned horse on the 28th February. Ochterlony left for Hansi to meet the Skinners.

Holi Festival

In honour of the Holi festival the Emperor distributed on the 5th March dresses of yellow colour among the members of the royal family. About two hundred musicians dressed in yellow costumes, singing and dancing, came to the Emperor and received prizes. General Ochterlony was granted audience. He presented four gold coins, and received ten trays of clothes, a velvet jacket worked in golden thread, one diamond box and a horse. On the 6th March, the proper day of Holi, the Emperor weighed himself, and received nazrs of holi from the leaders of the Hindus.

A "Gold" bird and a Cage

On the 14th March, the agent of Raja Guman Singh of Almora, presented to Mr. Elliot his master's letter together with a bird of golden colour and a cage.

New Year's Day

On the 21st March the New Year's Day was celebrated. The nobles and other courtiers presented their nazrs. Mr. Elliot offered one hundred and one gold coins on behalf of the Governor-General, and 21 on his own part.

Emperor's Birth Day

On the 25th March 400 Mullans were entertained to a dinner, and given one rupee each. Spacious trays of sweets were sent to all the courtiers, nobles and Englishmen on the 27th March. The next day Mr. Elliot, princes and nobles offered their nazrs and congratulations on the beginning of the sixty-ninth year. In honour of the occasion the princes were allowed to have a trip to the Qutab Minar, but on receiving a complaint from Mr. Elliot of their aimless wanderings they were recalled from the way.

Shab-i-Brat

The Heir Apparent on the 2nd April sent to the British Agent 140 pieces of fir works and 15 trays of pudding in honour of the Shab-i-Brat festival.

Ice-Vendors and Ganges Water

An entry of the 13th April indicates that ice-vendors had quarters near the fort to carry on their business. On the 18th April Raja Kidar Nath presented to the Emperor a jar of the water of the Ganges.

Begam Samru's Presents

On the 18th April Begam Samru's letter was received accompanied by nine maunds of khas for the Emperor and four maunds for the Heir Apparent. On the 22nd April five hundred large fans sent by the Begam were distributed in the palace.

Permit for Saffron

On the 23rd April Mr. Elliot granted a permit for a consignment of saffron brought from Hardwar for the use of the royal family to be admitted free into the city.

Id-ul-Fitar

On the 19th May, the last day of the fasting month of Ramzan the evening was very dusty and windy, and in spite of every effort the Emperor could not see the new moon. On the morning of the 20th May, the day of Id, the Emperor received nazrs from the British Agent and his own nobles. His Majesty attended the public prayer at the Idgah and granted to the Imam a khilat of four pieces and a sword.

Superior Quality of Ice

On the 26th May the keeper of the Fort was ordered to instruct the ice-vendors to supply the Emperor with superior quality of ice assuring them that its price would be disbursed by His Majesty himself. On the 5th June twenty-five seers of ice was supplied by the ice-vendors. Out of it the Heir Apparent Prince Salim and Prince Babar received two seers each.

Rs. 1,000 to a Beggar

A beggar had been sitting below the Saman Burj for the past six months asking for a horse, a doshala and one thousand rupees. On the recommendation of Queen Mumtaz Mahal he was granted Rs. 1,000.

Gift of Sugar-Candy

Nawab Bhambu Khan sent to Mr. Elliot on the 8th June eleven bahngis or twenty-two baskets of sugar-candy on the occasion of the birth of a son.

An Opium Box

On the 18th June one boxful opium was received by the Emperor from Mr. Elliot.

Mail Connections with Hansi

Mail connections were established on the 14th July between Delhi and Hansi to provide facilities to the Skinners.

Ochterlony's Property

Mr. Elliot went to the Shalamar Gardens on the 19th July to prepare a list of the property of the deceased General Ochterlony

Holy Water of the Ganges

A pitcher of the water of the Ganges sent as usual by Raja Kidar Nath was received.

Auction of Ochterlony's Property

On the 23rd July Mr. Elliot purchased a horse from the auction of the late Ochterlony's property; while two elephants of the deceased were sent to Nand Singh, wakil of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, to buy if he chose for his master.

On the 25th July for Id-uz-zuha 700 sheep were received for the royal kitchen and 350 for the Heir Apparent. Out of these five sheep were sent to Mr. Elliot and thirteen for other Englishmen. On the 27th the Emperor held a darbar in the Diwan-i-khas which was attended by the British Agent. Then all marched towards Idgah accompanied by Messrs. Elliot, Skinner and Middleton with their wives who took leave of the Emperor at the entrance of the Idgah. After the prayers were over His Majesty granted a robe of honour of four pieces and a sword to Haji Qasim. The Emperor was then led to a tent where he sacrificed with his own hands a camel, a sheep and a goat. On returning to the Fort, His Majesty was presented by Mr. Elliot with 101 gold coins on behalf of the Governor-General and 21 on his own part, five to the Heir Apparent and two for the Queen. On the 28th July baskets of fruit and trays of fish, meat and bread were sent to the Agent and his entire staff as Id gifts.

Murder of a Maid Servant in the Palace

It was reported to the Emperor that on the 11th August Sayyid Iqbal Ali Khan and Ashraf Beg were summoned by Mr. Elliot to inquire about the death of one of Prince Babar's maid servants. They stated that two maid servants had broken open a jewellery box of the Prince, and both of them were chained in the legs. One maid vomitted and died. The Agent told them that according to a report she died by the effect of beating. The Agent's letter to this effect for the Emperor also arrived. The Emperor called prince Babar and handed over the letter to him. The Prince's reply was counter-signed by the Emperor on the 13th August and was forwarded to Mr. Elliot.

Refractory Zamindars

On the 29th August the British Agent accompanied by his courtiers waited on the Emperor. The Emperor complained that the zamindars of Kot Qasim, a village in the crownlands, were refractory, and were ready to fight against the royal soldiers. Mr. Elliot replied that the Emperor's superintendents had full authority in the matter of collecting revenues. At the time of departure the Agent was presented with a bouquet.

Bribe from the Emperor

On the 23rd September Sayyid Iqbal Ali Khan's letter conveyed the news of the death of Daulat-un-nisa Begam. The Emperor sanctioned Rs. 60 for funeral expenses and Rs. 11 for distribution of food. The Naib Nazir submitted that a suitable burial place in the Dargah of khawja Nizam-ud-din was near the grave of Maulavi Sahib, but the servants of the Dargah demanded Rs. 500 to give permission to bury her there. The Emperor deputed Captain Ashraf Beg to admonish the servants telling them that they would be paid all the offerings of the six-monthly and annual celebrations.

Hidden Treasure in Parganah Nuh

On the 25th September Roshan Khan of Parganah Nuh in Mewat told Mr. Elliot that a treasure of one crore, sixtyseven lakhs and a few thousand rupees lay buried in his house, and that it should be taken over by the Government. He appointed an Englishman at the head of some Company's troops to accompany Roshan Khan, dig the earth and take possession of the hoards.

Akhiri Chahar Shamba

Akhiri Chahar Shamba, an important Muslim festival, fell on the 12th October. The Agent with all his courtiers waited on the Emperor. The Emperor put on his fingers five gold rings, one each was presented to the Heir Apparent, Princes Babar, Salim and Timur Shah, eleven were handed over to the Agent for the Governor-General, seven were offered to the Agent and twenty-two were sent for Begam Samru.

Unruly Conduct of Villagers

On the 14th October Muhammad Ali Hazari reported to the Emperor that his men had gone to village Timur Nagar to settle some local affairs. The zamindars came to oppose them. First they used sticks and stones, and later on resorted to swords. The Agent should be requested to take action against them.

Purchase of Slave Girls

Sayyid Iqbal Ali Khan represented to the Emperor on the 15th October Mr. Thomas's complaint against the purchase of slave girls in the palace without his knowledge.

Charles Metcalfe as Agent

Mr. Elliot was transferred from Delhi and was succeeded by Charles Metcalfe. On the 22nd October the Emperor examined the khilat prepared for the new Agent by Raja Sohan Lal. On the 24th October the Emperor held a darbar in the Diwan-i-khas, where Charles Metcalfe accompanied by Messrs. Elliot, Thomas Metcalfe, Sutherland and others came for an interview. He offered twenty-one gold coins as a nazr to His Majesty, five to the Heir Apparent and two for Queen Mumtaz Mahal Begam. He was granted a khilat of seven pieces and three diamonds. Sutherland received a khilat of six pieces and two diamonds and to Mr. Elliot was given a khilat of seven pieces and three diamonds. After this Charles Metcalfe visited the Heir Apparent at his house, and then he went to Prince Babar's residence.

The Dusahra Day

On the celebrated Hindu festival of Dusahra the Emperor held a darbar in the Diwan-i-khas, which was attended by all the nobles and courtiers. In accordance with the usual custom on this day the Emperor put on leather gloves and held a hawk on his thumb. The son of Mohan, the keeper of hawks, presented several birds. After this the nobles offered their Dusahra nazrs and received khilats.

Sale of a Girl in the Palace

Imam Bakhsh Chobdar in the service of Sayyid Iqbal Ali Khan was arrested under orders of the British court of justice for having sold a daughter of a line burner in the royal palace.

Title for the Raja of Kishangarh

On the 21st November the Emperor having adorned himself with diamonds and jewels held a court in the Diwan-i-khas. The British Agent, Mr. Sutherland and others also attended it. The Raja of Kishangarh offered a nazr of 101 gold coins, 73 trays of apparel, one tray of precious ornaments of the head, a necklace of pearls, Rs. 500 cash, two fully caprisoned horses and one elephant for the Emperor; five gold coins, fourteen trays of apparel and one horse for the heir Apparent, and five gold coins and fourteen trays of apparel for the Queen. He was granted the title of "Maharaja Mahindar Raja Kalyan Singh Bahadur", along with a khilat and other presents.

March to Bharatpur

In view of the campaign of Bharatpur Charles Metcalfe made preparation to participate in it. Begam Samru was invited to join him. Kanwar Ajit Singh of Patiala had already reached Delhi to accompany the Agent to Bharatpur. Fazl Ali Khan and Rahmat Khan of Malerkotla also expressed their desire to go with him, and they were permitted.

The Diwali

In honour of the Diwali the Emperor on the 10th December weighed himself against seven kinds of grain which was given away in charity. Then the Emperor retired to the bathroom, where, in accordance with the usual custom, he sat on the back of a tortoise, bathed in the water of the Chiragh Delhi ki Dargah, and put on a new dress. Then he ordered for the illumination of the palace and the Fort gates with earthen lamps according to the old custom.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SURVEY DEPARTMENT, 1865-1873: THEIR GENERAL CHARACTER

By Dashratha Sharma

The records of a body like the Survey of India have an interest of their own. They fully reflect, as nothing else can, the growth of this splendid organisation which, since its modest beginnings in 1764 A.D., has in spite of the greatest difficulties added one square mile after another of India and the bordering countries to its maps. Nor does this achievement appear astonishing when we read about the care with which its officers were selected. They had, of course, to be good scientific workers, and organisers. But they were expected at the same time to be good students of human nature, capable of not merely using their survey instruments but also their diplomatic skill in dealing, with Indian chiefs and hostile border tribes.

My personal acquaintance with the Survey records is not great. It is limited to the proceedings of the years, 1865-73. One of the eight zinc boxes in which these were sent to the National Archives of India has been found to be a total loss. The corrosive action of metal had destroyed the papers before they reached their new destination. The contents of two more tin boxes, *i.e.* one-quarter of another zinc box, have been lost to posterity in the same way.

The majority of the papers included in these proceedings naturally consist of applications for maps and appointments, orders of transfer, dismissal, increment, promotion and so forth. But even these apparently dry-as-dust documents are not without historical value, for through them we can trace the career of well-known figures like Godwin Austen, T. H. Holdich, and Montgomery. We have here also the papers dealing with the organisation of the Department, showing how great changes took place in the years 1866 and 1874.

Interspersed with such papers are others of a more general interest, some of them D.Os. to the Surveyor General of India. A letter of August, 1867, for instance, complains of the Jaipur Maharaja's indifference towards the Survey operations in his State. The cause, we find from another letter, was his non-receipt of the Survey maps of his State. The Surveyor General wrote back that the maps in question should be presented to the Maharaja as early as possible either by the officer himself or by the Political Agent who had been

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taking keen interest in the matter. In the Punjab only two States, Mandi and Sirmoor, showed in the beginning any desire to have their lands surveyed. But the Survey's greatest difficulties were encountered on the north-eastern and north-western frontiers. Here the tribes were hostile. The Surveyors worked knowing fully that their lives were every moment in danger. Even in the best of times and with all precautions taken—which naturally could not always be the case—the task was not by any means easy. But it was a task extremely necessary. It had to be done if the frontiers were to be safeguarded and the Empire was to be put on a firm basis.

Various letters in the series show the keen interest the Government took in the completion of the Frontier survey. They provided guards as well as police. They instructed also their Agents to look to the safety and convenience of the surveyors. On the 2nd August, 1873, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal warmly congratulated the Political Agent, Hill Tipperah, and Captain Badgley for their journey across from Surthey. He "awaited with interest the submission of a full report by Captain Badgley of the Survey operations in the country through which he had travelled" and hoped to have from the Political Agent "a very full description of all that had been done, of the country, the people, the position of villages, and *everything tending to elucidate the question of the policy and defence in this quarter.*"

The full account demanded by the Bengal Government must have been submitted in due course and may be somewhere in the papers of the Foreign Department of either the Bengal or the Indian Government. It would be certainly an interesting document relative to the north-eastern policy of the British Indian Empire. Undoubtedly much less in importance than this, yet not uninteresting, is the Political Agent's letter which brought forth the congratulations mentioned above, for it shows the amount of energy that even the most highly placed British officers could put into the work of serving their country. Where the Kookee and Bengali coolies had to be left behind, the former being too lame to move even without loads, these agents of the Government plodded on, as if unconscious of the danger to their lives and health. The journey across from Surthey "was terribly severe, now over huge boulders, now up to the waist in water with a hot sun overhead." From morning to evening the party sometimes did three miles only, as the crow flies, and that after the hardest marching. When the Political Agent reached Beparry Bazar, after passing through the hostile Lushai country, nearly every one of the party was suffering from some complaint or other.

For students of British Indian foreign policy and external affairs such letters are highly useful. But even better than these are the reports of great surveyors like Godwin Austen, scientific, accurate and full of interesting details, sometimes even unequivocally indicating the policy which the Government should follow. Of these reports some were published, others were not. Some had two editions, one for the Foreign and Political Departments and the

other for general consumption. It would be an interesting task to compare these expurgated and unexpurgated editions.

Other interesting facts are also not lacking. The Government of India has recently revised the spelling of some of our important towns. Cawnpore has become Kanpur. Benares is now Banaras, as it should be. These orthographic absurdities might have disappeared long ago, if the Government had listened to the protest lodged by the Surveyor General against the retention of forms like "pore", and not decided finally that "the orthography of names of well-known places should be retained".

Captain Riddell's case (143-44 of Dec. 1872) shows how the British officers of the Survey sometimes took the law into their own hands. Dissatisfied with the conduct of certain policemen who had quarrelled with his peon, the Captain had them flogged, after fully satisfying himself that their hearts were sound enough to stand the punishment!! The matter must have created some stir in its time, because it had to be referred to the Governor General by the Government of Bengal. In some other cases too complaints reached the Surveyor General's office. An enquiry was always instituted, though its results might not always have been satisfying to the complainant.

Proceeding No. 312 of February, 1874, gives the list of treasuries and a map of the Financial Circle, 1874. The information supplied by it might be valuable enough for future generations. But the information that it gathered for its own generation too was extremely valuable. Captain Powlette, who was employed in preparing the Rajputana Gazetteer, desired that the Survey maps might give the character of houses in villages, whether they were *pucca* or *kuchcha*. The Surveyor General replied saying that though this sort of information could not possibly be embodied on the face of the maps, the executive officers in charge of Surveys collected such statistical information as was feasible and the alphabetical registers maintained by them contained information as to the number and description of houses, the latitudes and longitudes of villages, the district or State to which they belonged, besides points of interest connected with their history and manufactures. (See Nos. 313-14 of October, 1874).

Facts equally or even more important can be gleaned from our records by an investigator according to his own interest and line of research. This short note is merely intended to show the general character of the papers in the proceedings from 1867 to 1874.

THE AMIR-UL-AKHBAR

By K. Sajan Lal

The *Amir-ul-Akhbar* of Madras was first published in 1853 but I have examined only the 1856-57 Volume. The first issue of 1856 contains 10 pages, the second, dated 11 September 1856, 8 pages, but from the third issue onward it has 12 pages. This was done as the Editor himself informed the readers to include more material such as Persian verses and poems.

The title appears on a floral background in the first three or four issues, but the later issues are without any decoration. They are in a puritan style. To the right of the title the issue number is mentioned and the volume number appears to the left of it. The subscription rates are given just below the title. The *Amir-ul-Akhbar* was a weekly published on Thursday evenings. Subscription rates were one rupee a month or Rs. 10 annually payable in advance (subsequently reduced to Rs. 8). Postal charges were extra. Dates are given in Hijri, Christian and Fasli eras below the subscription rates. Each page usually contained three columns but sometimes there were two and occasionally one column only. The paper was published by Muhammad Husain and his associates from House No. 63 Mukhtar-un-nisa Begam Lane, Madras.

Special supplements were published on important occasions in addition to the usual weekly issues. These were of full-page length bearing the date but the volume and issue numbers were not always mentioned. These supplements contained news received telegraphically some of which are dealt with in this paper.

The *Amir-ul-Akhbar* supplied its readers with Indian and foreign news. It correctly reported the events of the Anglo-Persian War of 1857. We get detailed information about the strength of the forces, the causes, events and the results of the war illustrating them by maps, charts, etc. The issue of the paper dated 22 April 1857 published a lengthy translation of General Outram's despatch issued from the camp at Muhamira on 24 March 1857. Some important correspondence on the capture of Bushire is also published. Two interesting maps are reproduced, one showing the position of the rival armies at Muhamira drawn to a scale of 1"=1 mile by Lt. W. W. Goodfellow. The

Mr. K. A. Sajan Lal, F.R.S.A. has distinguished himself by his original research on topics connected with the history of Indian periodicals. He has collected the files of a number of important periodicals of the early 19th century and took an active role in the survey of records conducted in Sind under the auspices of the Provincial Government.

other map drawn up by J. A. Captain, Deputy Quarter Master, shows the position of the armies at Ahwaz (1 April 1857).

The paper took great pains in reporting Indian news faithfully. It strongly disapproved of the publication of news based on mere hearsay and on several occasions corrected false and fabricated news published in *Qulasat-ul-Akhbar*. Its local contemporary *Subha-i-Sadiq* supported its policy.

The paper deals at length with the action taken by the Government of India against the Indian newspapers under Act XV of 1857. It was on 29 June 1857 that the editor of *The Friend of India* was warned against "repetition of remarks of the dangerous nature of those in an article of 21st June called the Centenary of Plassey."¹ On 31st July, the Government took necessary steps to bring to trial the editors of several newspapers of Calcutta. In its issue of 13 August 1857, the *Amir-ul-Akhbar* reports the trial of Munshi Ahmad Ali of *Durbin*, Hafiz Muhammad of *Sultan-ul-Akhbar*, Babu Sham Sundar of *Samachar Sudhabarsan*, and the editor of *Gulshan-i-Naubahar*. The first two editors pleaded guilty and were discharged. Babu Sham Sundar was tried, but the court happily gave a verdict of 'not guilty'. Only the press at which *Gulshan-i-Naubahar* was published was confiscated.

Issue No. 4 of the *Amir-ul-Akhbar* dated 25 September 1856 contains a vigorous defence of the Nawab of Oudh. While admitting the Nawab's mal-administration, it emphasised that the administration of the East India Company, particularly in Bengal, was no better.

The *Amir-ul-Akhbar* usually published interesting items of news borrowed from its contemporaries² to cater to its readers. It was an impartial paper and always championed the cause of the public, irrespective of caste, colour or creed.

An important event in the annals of Madras was the establishment of the Madras University in 1857. The Editor of the *Amir-ul-Akhbar* criticised the

¹ *The Friend of India* was founded by Carey, Marshman and Ward at Srirampur in 1818. It started as a monthly but subsequently became a weekly. Knight bought this Journal for Rs. 30,000 and transferred it to Calcutta. Later on it merged with *The Statesman* founded by Knight in 1875 (vide Margarita Barnes, *The Indian Press*, page 274).

² Exigency of space forbids us to mention all the contemporaries of the *Amir-ul-Akhbar*. For the interest of readers we mention the name of 34 contemporary Urdu and Persian newspapers :

(1) *Safir-i-Agra*; (2) *Akhbar-i-Delhi*; (3) *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*; (4) *Jami-Jehan Numa*; (5) *Gulshan-i-Naubahar*. (6) *Murtaza-i-Akhbar*; (7) *The Agra Akhbar*; (8) *Azeem-ul-Akhbar*; (9) *Sultan-ul-Akhbar*; (10) *Durbin*; (11) *Ohashma-i-Faiz*; (12) *Makhzan-ul-Akhbar*; (13) *Subha-i-Sadiq*; (14) *Tilasum-i-Lucknow*; (15) *Rauzat-ul-Akhbar*; (16) *Mufid-i-Khalaiq*; (17) *Omdat-ul-Akhbar*; (18) *Muffearh-ul-Qulub*; (19) *Shua-us-Shams*; (20) *Riaz-un-Nur*; (21) *Mazhar-ul-Akhbar*; (22) *Aftab-i-Hind*; (23) *The Akhbar-i-Malwa*; (24) *Sahar-i-Samri*; (25) *Jami-Jamshed*; (26) *Kohi-Nur*; (27) *Taj-ul-Akhbar*; (28) *Aiyjaz-ul-Akhbar*; (29) *Qulasat-ul-Akhbar*; (30) *Diyar-i-Magrib*; (31) *Qiran-us-Sadain*; (32) *Talim-ul-Akhbar*; (33) *Kashful-Akhbar* and (34) *Ahsan-ul-Akhbar*.

personnel of the Senate, regretted the non-inclusion of Rev. Grant's name and pleaded for the inclusion of Muslim and Brahman members. From among the Anglo-Indians, the paper recommended the names of J. D. Clarke, Arbuthnot and G. W. Taylor for membership.

The paper gave full publicity to the affairs of Oudh, as it created a stir among the Muslims. The work of the Englishman, Carnegie, Munshi Ram Das Tehsildar, Mirza Raza Ali ex-kotwal, Jackson, Chief Commissioner, Rai Pertab Singh and others is noticed in detail. Hussain Bakshi sorted out all the books of the Nawab's Library and three or four cartloads of these were sent to Martin Kothi under instructions from Major Harrison, the Military Secretary.

We get a clear picture of the state of affairs in Northern India at the time of the outbreak of the Mutiny in the columns of the paper. Detailed statistics are given about the heavy toll of cholera in Lahore from 13 August to 19 August 1853.

Date		No. of deaths	No. of attacks registered
13	.	73	...
14	.	72	..
15	.	71	226
16	.	68	287
17	.	41	327
18	.	36	364
19	.	17	461

The Nawab of Arcot's affairs received the fullest publicity in Madras newspapers and the *Amir-ul-Akhbar* was no exception. Many of its issues are wholly devoted to the Nawab's family affairs. One of its issues (No. 22) gives an interesting account of the proceedings in connection with the award of pensions. The following members of the Nawab's family received monthly pensions as noted below:—

	Rs.	A.	P.
1. Nawab Azeem-ud-Daulah	8,333	5	4
2. Rashid-ud-Daulah	2,000	0	0
3. Ahmad-un-Nisa Begum	2,250	0	0
4. Rafat-ul-Mulk	175	0	0
5. Khair-ud-Din Husain Khan	30	0	0
6. Taher-un-Nisa Begum	54	0	0

	Rs.	A.	P.
7. Ikram-un-Nisa Begum*	200	0	0
8. Burhan-un-Nisa Begum	50	0	0
9. Munir-un-Nisa Begum	50	0	0
10. Haidar Jung	100	0	0
11. Wahid-un Nisa Begum	30	0	0
12. Qiamat-un-Nisa Begum	30	0	0
13. Jamil-un-Nisa Begum	15	0	0
14. Subhan-un-Nisa Begum	15	0	0
15. Fatima Begum	400	0	0
16. Munir-ud-Daulah	571	0	0
17. Aithar-ud-Daulah	571	0	0
18. Ahmadi Begum	286	0	0
19. Kulsum Begum	286	0	0
20. Padshah Begum*	1,000	0	0
21. Ahmad-un-Nisa Begum	1,000	0	0
22. Muqtar-un-Nisa Begum	1,000	0	0
23. Muhammad Ali Khan	100	0	0
24. Qadria Begum	250	0	0
25. Gousia Begum	250	0	0
26. Orrat-ul-Fatima	50	0	0
27. Khair-un-Nisa Begum	12,000	0	0
28. Azam-un-Nisa Begum	4,000	0	0

Issue No. 32, dated 9 April gives another list of the householders and staff of the Nawab under three heads:

Full Pay Holders

	Rs.
1. Ma'lar-ul-Omrah—Diwan-i-Durbar	600
2. Badr-ud-Daulah—Qzi	300
3. Bakshi-ul-Mulk—C-in-C	400
4. Sadr-ul-Mulk—Bakshi-i-Bar	600
5. Shaji-ul-Mulk—Bakshi-i-Sawar	625
6. Dabir-ul-Mulk—Mir Munshi (English)	300
7. Mansur-ud-Daulah—Steward	250
8. Shujat Khan—Subedar Major	84
9. Basalat Khan—Subedar	80
10. Gulam Murtaza Khan—Adj. Subedar	42
11. Sayyid Pahalwan—Subedar-i-Bar	35
12. Shaik Tippu—Subedar	35
13. Nilakant—Subedar	35
14. Shaik Bare—Jemadar	17

* Note—Obituary notices on the death of Ikram-un-Nisa Begum wife of Sharf-ul-Omrah, of Badshah Begum, wife of Azeem-ud-Daulah and of Naoros Begum, wife of Saif-ud-Daulah, appeared in its issue dated 26 February 1857 in black bordered columns.

Half Pay Holders

	Rs.
1. Amin-ud-Daulah—Miri Saman-i-Niaz	75.
2. Wahid Baig—Adj. Jamadar	25
3. Adam Khan—Jemadar	15.
4. Qadir Baig	15
5. S. Haji	15.
6. Sayyid Yusuf	8
7. Gulam Muhammad	8

1/3rd Pay Holders

	Rs.
1. Rais-ul-Mulk—2nd Diwan	133
2. Munshi-ul-Mulk—Mir Munshi (Persian)	100
3. Rajah Eshwar Dass —Sharishtadar	23

The paper reported on the working of the Madras Railway, its income and expenditure. The first section of the Madras Railway (65½ miles) was opened on 1 July 1856; the profits accruing from passenger traffic from Madras to Arcot for a period of three months amounted to Rs. 20,471-11-0 and the goods traffic showed a profit of Rs. 15,826.

Another important event in this connection, to which full publicity was given, was the extension of the Madras Railway to Vellore. It was at first reported that the line would be declared open on 1 May 1857, but subsequently the Government decided to do so on 7 May at 3 P.M.³

Rules and regulations regarding the fares and freight charges along with the Madras-Vellore Railway Time Table appear in detail and cover 3 pages of its issue.⁴ It is interesting to note that the smoking of *hooka* or cigar either in the train or railway stations was strictly forbidden. On all days except Sundays, the timings of the train, running between Madras and Vellore, a distance of 80 miles, were published. Travelling without ticket carried a penalty of Rs. 50. Children under 3 years were not charged but those over 3 years were to pay the full fare. Charges for dogs, horses, carriages, 2 wheelers or 4 wheelers were notified. Luggage freight was charged as per schedule given below.

Weight	50 miles and under	Exceeding 50 and less than 100 miles
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
5 seers and under	0 8 0	0 12 0
Exceeding 5 seers but less than 20	0 12 0	1 2 0

³R. Dutt, in his book *the Economic History of India*, referring to the Madras Railway, incorrectly says, "No further extension was constructed within the period of the East India Company's Administration" (page 176).

⁴The Madras-Vellore Railway Time Table giving fares for I, II, III classes appeared in the issue dated 7 May 1857.

THE AMINS OF VASO

By C. V. Joshi

1. The little town of Vaso in the Baroda State, lying 40 miles north of Baroda, 25 miles south of Ahmedabad and 20 miles east of Cambay has come recently into limelight as the ancestral home of Durbar Gopaldas, the well-known patriot of Gujarat. A little account of the brave Amin family of this place to which the Durbar belongs, based on family papers, may help to lay the popular misconception about the purely pacific nature of the Gujarati race. I am obliged to the members of the Family who supplied me with material for the paper, mostly in Gujarati and Marathi.

2. One Vacchha Patel is supposed to have founded the town of Vaso in about 1168 A.D. according to an entry in the books of the family bard. In the fourth generation after Vacchha came two brothers, Aju and Lalji, who had kept a small troop of soldiers. A ballad on Lalji describes him as one who had gone from Idar in an expedition against Patan (both in North Gujarat) on horseback to collect the Peshkasi tribute due to the Mughal Emperor.

3. Aju was more famous than his brother Lalji Patel. A Hindi bard named Ganga of Delhi says in one of his panegyrics:

“O brave Aju, light of the Charottar* tract, thou hast come out from the brave Gujarat. Having an influence over the Emperor Akbar, thou hast all the mighty kings under thy thumb. Blessed is thy mother. Akbar, Aju and Ajai, these three are friends of one another, says Ganga”.

Ajai referred to in the panegyric was the Desai of Savli, a town in the Baroda pargana. Aju and Ajai entered into matrimonial relationship at the Emperor's desire.

In another poem we are told that Akbar presented his own riding elephant to Aju, the light of dawn over the land of Gujarat.

Another poem is addressed by a bard to a Rathod prince eulogising Aju. Who this Rathod was is not known. The poem runs:

“Listen O Rathod prince! The forest knows the lion, Shesha knows the nether world, fame knows good deeds, the sky is aware of the sun

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* Charottar tract = Central Gujarat.

and the moon and Shiva and Vishnu recognise every one. The rays of Aju are glittering everywhere and how are you not aware of him?"

4. Aju's great grandson Varanasidas rose from the status of Patel to that of Amin, the intermediate stage being the post of Desai. Patel, Desai and Amin are the only three surnames in the great patidar community of Gujarat. Varanasidas deprived the Nawab of Cambay of the work of revenue collection in the Vaso pargana then under the suba of Ahmedabad. Varanasidas took part in the Mughal expedition against Kathiawad and levied tribute from the Jam of Nawanagar on behalf of the Emperor. Later on, the oppressions of the Mughal agents roused the indignation of the patels, and three of their leaders sent for Pilaji Gaikwad, the future founder of the Baroda State, to drive out the Mughals from Gujarat in 1722. Varanasidas had gone to Songadh to fetch Pilaji for which he afterwards got a village as a grant for keeping a *palki*.

5. In 1723, a battle took place between the Imperial party and the Nizam-ul-mulk's party for the governorship of Gujarat. Pilaji sided with the Imperial party. Rustam Ali Khan, a captain of Nizam's party being double-crossed by Pilaji committed suicide. Varanasidas was on Pilaji's side and Rustam Ali being a cousin of the Nawab of Cambay, the latter's enmity to Varanasi became more bitter.

Many were the times when Nawab molested Varanasi by riding his lands and Varanasi retaliated not less zealously. When the Mughal Suba Hussein Din Babi was ousted from Baroda by Damaji Gaikwad, he was given refuge by the Nawab. Damaji ordered Varanasi to punish the Nawab for this offence. Varanasi deputed his son Venibhai against Cambay only to meet a treacherous death at the hands of the Nawab, who kept him in captivity for two months and then killed him while negotiating terms of peace with him. A *garba* song called Venibhai's *rasado* was sung by ladies at Cambay about 50 years back commemorating this incident.

6. Venibhai was the jewel of the Amin House. He composed poems in the Brij language and a book named *Sahityasindhu* in verse. His library was rich. He was a patron of bards. He fixed rules for the conduct of the marriage ceremony, funeral and caste dinners that are still observed by the Patidar community. He held caste gatherings very frequently and once when a gathering was short of provisions he laid the neighbouring villages under tribute to make good the shortage and afterwards compensated all the plundered neighbours, since when the people began to call him Venishah instead of Venibhai. He was killed in 1759.

7. Venibhai's son Jesingbhai was true to the militant tradition of his forefathers. He accompanied the Maratha forces at the time of the third battle of Panipat. After his return he was reinstated in the family honours. The

House of Gaikwad was divided into two factions, and Jesingbhai was entrusted with the work of the guardianship of the minor prince Anandrao. The party in power at Baroda wanted to seize the minor prince, so Jesingbhai had to leave Vaso and seek shelter at Lunawada, a small state in Gujarat. In his absence his house at Vaso was demolished and all his income was stopped. He had to part with prince Anandrao. In the end, Manajirao Gaikwad who was in power was moved with the account of hardships suffered by Jesingbhai of whose innocence he was convinced. He was invited to Baroda and was given a turban and shawl in the durbar. Then he was asked to resume charge of the aminship. While he was on his way to Vaso a party of Arab mercenaries surrounded him and put him to death in 1791. He was a hero whose whole life was spent in hardship in the service of a dispossessed master like Durgadas of Marwad.

The direct line of these heroic Amins is still continuing at Vaso with the streak of Kshatriya blood in their veins.

AN UNKNOWN ACT OF TIPU SULTAN

By K. N. V. Sastri

In *Indian Political Consultations*, 18 September 1839, Nos. 183-198, and 15 January 1840, No. 78, there is a study of the Maharaja's powers over Rajbindies or the 500 families related more or less closely to him. In *Consultation* No. 187 there is a copy of a petition by Devaji Ammanni, the junior widow of Dewan Venkataraj Urs, which contains the following incidents in the history of Tipu Sultan:—

“The Rajah and his Principal Minister the Dulwai were placed in a state of restraint during the time of Hyder and the Sultan; while some of the Chief Rajbindies were restricted to a residence within the fortress, some betook themselves to villages for fear of injury being done to their caste, and some of them were holding public offices as Amildars and Killadars. Such was the real case. How can it be then assumed under such circumstances that they [His Highness' ancestors] exercised control over all the Rajbindies? Moreover his father Cham Raj Oodier through the evil advice of some of his Oolgies or menial servants having departed from the customs of his caste (Rajbindies) and conformed to those of the Sivachar sect, in being initiated by Oodiers or Lingayet Gooroos to wear a ‘Ling’, abandoned the practice of burning the dead and caused his wife, the mother of the present Rajah to be interred in a grave on her demise. The Sultan having come to the knowledge of this circumstance subjected the Oolgies and the Ood’er or Gooroo who gave this evil advice to the mutilation of their ears and noses, and caused the ‘Ling’ worn of Chamaraj Oodier to be thrown away, and the body of this Rajah’s parent to be exhumated and burnt according to established usage. While such circumstances took place under the orders of the then ruling authority and are so notorious to every one, the unreasonable assertions that they exercised sole control over the affairs of the Rajbindies . . . would clearly appear . . . [more as misrepresentations] than as the sentiments of our Prince.”

Sir Mark Cubbon did not accept this statement without a secret enquiry about its truth. He examined a few reliable witnesses and sent the corroboration of the above statement a few months later. This is found in *India Political Consultations*, 15 January 1840, No. 79, and the following are extracts from a few of these papers:—

- (1) ‘Coopanah is proverbial among his countrymen for his independence and regard for truth.’ He confirms the secret conversion of

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Chamaraj Wodeyar into the Lingayat sect and Tipu's attitude towards it in the following words: 'Tippoo was highly pleased with the said Dodda Ammanni (wife of Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar) for her conduct in bringing the affair (burying instead of burning Chamaraja Wodeyar's wife) to his notice.' He also confirmed the fact that Chamaraja Wodeyar was kept under close custody and deprived of all powers. To the question, 'Did any of the Rajah's ancestors exercise authority under the governments of Hayder Ali and Tippoo Sultan?', he answered, 'None that I have heard of.'

- (2) Meer Meeran Sreenewas Row, who had served under Purniah, said in his evidence before the Commissioner, Sir Mark Cubbon, that 'the Sultan would not permit any change of faith unless into his own.'

Now, here is a piece of news about an unknown act of Tipu Sultan. It relates to the religion of the Maharaja of Mysore on one side and to Tipu Sultan's religious policy on the other. We have had so far some information on both of these subjects in books and records but nothing so revealing.

First of all, as regards the religion of the Maharaja of Mysore, all evidence goes to show that they were followers of Brahmanical sect and belonged to the Kshatriya caste. But Wilks had added that 'many, however, of the subsequent Rajahs of Mysore (*i.e.* after Raja Wodeyar, 1610) are supposed to have secretly professed their ancient religion (*viz.*, Sivachara). It is known to me that several relations of the house continue to do so.' There was, however, no information to substantiate this statement either about the source of his information and examples of Rajbinde individuals and families which believed in Veerasaiva sect of Saivism or about other relevant matters. Those who were well acquainted with the affairs of the palace in the time of Haidar Ali had noticed that he appointed a lady of Veerasaiva sect, Mud-damallamma, as the guardian of the young Maharaja (who was just three years old), instead of Maharani Lakshammamanni of glorious memory and further that he (Haider Ali) prohibited grants of lands to temples and Brahmans. The Veerasaivas were consequently highly influential in the palace, and the young Prince was instructed in the tenets of that creed. The great lady's influence may have also led to even matrimonial alliances outside the traditional circle and to the creation of families referred to by Wilks. We now see, from the extracts of Government of India records, how significant Wilks' word 'secret' is and how strong and influential was the growth of Veerasaivism in the palace against the wishes of the 500 families known as Rajbindes.

Secondly, as regards the religious policy of Tipu Sultan, these extracts show that he did not approve of this secrecy about the religion of the Maharaja of Mysore. Haidar Ali had prohibited grants of lands to temples and Brahmans

and appointed a lingayat lady as the future ruler's guardian. But of these one was a measure of economy until the ruler came of age, and the other was perhaps an act of personal choice without any religious significance. Had these been otherwise, his son, Tipu Sultan would not have felt offended with the burial of the late Maharani and gone to the length of exhuming the body and getting it cremated. It is well known that several members of the royal family were obliged to live in disguise in Tipu Sultan's time, some as Veera-saivas, some as Jains and some as Brahmans. But it is not stated by the same authorities that they did so on account of Tipu Sultan's religious policy. These extracts, however, reveal that they acted more in ignorance than in the full knowledge of that policy. Because they make it clear that Tipu Sultan did not normally interfere in the affairs of the Rajbindes but when he learnt that there was a revolution in religious belief within the palace he put his foot firmly on it and prohibited any change from the old religion.

THE FOUNDATION OF INDORE

By M. V. Kibe

On the 6th January 1818 was signed the treaty of Mandsor between the East India Company and Maharaja Malharao Holkar, who being a minor, the treaty was signed on his behalf, by Vithal Mahadeo Kibe alias Tatyia Jog.

It has now lapsed with the cessation of British paramountcy under the Indian Independence Act 1947

After the signing of the Treaty the first step to stabilise the Government was the fixing of the Capital of the State, which had hitherto, since the death of Maharaja Tukojirao I, a few years before the beginning of the 19th century, remained peripatetic in tents under canvas. "The intention expressed by the Minister of establishing the residence of the Maharaja and his court hereafter in one of his principal cities, is highly satisfactory to the Governor-General and ought to receive every encouragement. The only consideration which can lead the British Government to wish to influence the choice of the future residence of Holkar, refers to the most convenient position for the establishment of the force which will necessarily be stationed with him. The latter was the emblem of the Supremacy." (see. Con. 1818).

The letter proceeds to compliment Sir John Malcolm on his dealings with the Holkar Government., "The Governor-General highly applauds, rejoices in the success of your efforts to preserve and improve the temper of the Court under the severe privations and misfortunes it has already suffered.....The restoration to the Maharaja of the sacred images of his family reported in your despatch of the 24th January, which has also been received, are measures highly calculated to produce this effect and are of course fully approved by the Governor-General." The other measure was the loan of Rs. 6 lacs to the Holkar Government to discharge its superfluous troops. Major Vans Agnew, on a mission to the Holkar, in his letter dated the 25th January 1818 (*ibid*) to the Secretary to the Governor General, on his handing over the treaty at a ceremonious Darbar, wrote, "The Minister Tantia Jog in the name of the Maharaja reports that he rested in the hope that the benefits of the alliance would daily increase and become more apparent and it was the unreserved wish of the State of Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar, for the future, to place its whole dependence on the protection and generosity of the British Government."

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In his letter dated the 3rd March 1818 (*ibid*) to the Secretary to the Governor-General, Sir John Malcolm wrote: "I arrived at the Camp of Malhar Rao Holkar on the 26th ultimo and the ceremonies of meeting me and subsequent visits, have been regulated in a manner that showed the best feeling, in all the parties concerned, towards the British Government."

Sir John further wrote that Tantia Jog said to him, "He is quite sensible of the condition of his Prince that he had taken his line decidedly and he anxiously trusted future events would produce those favourable changes which were anticipated from a policy, that looked to no object but that of meriting the friendship and the favour of the British Government." This was in response to Sir John's remarks to him. They were "I have explained to the Minister the necessity of meeting these difficulties (which he had explained, at one of the meetings) in an open and manly manner trusting for the future increase to the result of his good management, nor need he, I added, expel the hope from his mind, that at some future period the State he served might benefit from proved good faith and attachment to the alliance." The letter alludes to another topic, which has already been touched upon, Sir John says "Tantia Jog told me, after the conference, that I had often expressed a wish that the Court should abandon the usage of remaining in tents and settle in a town. That he was happy to say that all were agreed upon this policy." Indore was prepared but the final choice was left to the Governor-General. Sir John asked for his early decision as "The Minister is very anxious for a determination on his point, as he says that the Court should move (from Bhanpura, ~~from where~~ the letter was written) by the end of March at the farthest."

In his letter dated 29th October 1818 (*ibid*) to the Secretary to the Governor General Mr. Wellesly asked for a sum of Rs. 30,000 to build a Resident's house at Indore, which was by this time fixed as the capital. The reason he advances throws light on the establishment of the British paramountcy. He says "The commencement of a solid Residency would have, I think the good effect of establishing a general belief in people's mind of our firm intention of keeping this to a fixed capital. They would then more readily engage in the construction of solid habitations for their own comfort and sooner learn to divest themselves of the habits of an unsettled life, in which the past and present population of the Holkar's camp has passed through several generations of men."

The following letter dated 25th December 1817 (*ibid*) from the Secretary to the Governor-General, written to General Sir John Malcolm, throws light on the policy of maintaining the Holkar State, as a viable one. "The probability now is that after sustaining a defeat, Holkar will seek peace and submit to our terms, or turn Pindarry, and compel us to conquer his country." He then draws a draft of terms which may be imposed. These are substantially the

same which were embodied in the treaty of Mandisoore signed on 6th January 1818. The longstanding desire of having a Resident with Maharaja Holkar forms part of it. Elucidating them he further observes "The above comprise provisions both of a treaty of peace and of alliance such as it would be most desirable to form with the Holkar State and as would be most likely to lead to its settling into a regular and well ordered Government." Two other considerations were urged. One was that the cession of territories to be demanded from the Holkar State, should not be so extensive "as to reduce its resources too low for it to maintain the character of a substantive state" and the other was "that the situation of Holkar's Government and country should be expressed in general terms without binding us to any specific amount of force or any fixed station for the troops."

SOME IMPERIAL FARMANS ADDRESSED TO RATHOR DURGADAS

By Bisheshwar Nath Reu

Each and every scholar of Rajput history knows well Rathor Durgadas, a veteran hero of not only Marwar, but of the whole of Rajputana. He was the son of Thakur Askaran of Salva and was born on the 13th August 1638 and died in 1718 on the bank of the river Kshipra at Ujjain. Soon after the death of Maharaja Jaswantsingh I of Jodhpur, at Jamrud, in 1678, Emperor Aurangzeb annexed Jodhpur to his territory and for eight years Maharaja Ajitsingh, the posthumous son of the late Maharaja, was kept hidden in the mountains of Sirohi and his nobles fought against the Imperial army, while after that for twenty years the Maharaja and his sardars harassed the Mughal armies, whenever they got opportunity. In this long struggle of twentyeight years Rathor Durgadas was the main leader, who steered successfully the ship of hostility against the Emperor.

In 1680 Durgadas persuaded Muhammad Akbar, the youngest son of the Emperor, to proclaim himself as the Emperor of India. But when his plan failed due to the shrewdness of the Emperor, he took prince Akbar to the court of Shambhaji in the Deccan to divert the attention of the Emperor from Marwar and in this he was successful. In September 1681, the Emperor was obliged to proceed to the Deccan to personally suppress disturbances which, he feared, might be created there by the presence of the rebel prince Akbar.

In 1687, when prince Akbar sailed to Persia and Durgadas returned to Marwar, Emperor Aurangzeb tried to take the children of prince Akbar, whom he had left under the protection of Durgadas and after long negotiations Durgadas handed over the daughter and son of prince Akbar to the Emperor.

In 1707 Emperor Aurangzeb died near Ahmednagar in the Deccan and Maharaja Ajitsingh was able to take possession of Jodhpur, his ancestral capital.

We give below extracts of seven Farmans issued by Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707), Shah Alam Bahadurshah (1707-1712), Jahandar Shah (1712) and Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719).

These Farmans are in the possession of the descendants of Rathor Durgadas.

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Farman No. 1

It was issued by Emperor Aurangzeb and was addressed to Durgadas. It states that the Emperor had come to know from the letter of Mir Khan, son of late Amir Khan, that prince Muhammad Akbar, who was then in Kabul, dared not present himself at the royal court. He had not even come to Multan, where his (Akbar's) son was sent to receive him. It was also clear from the letter of Shujaat Khan that the prince had made up his mind to come to the Imperial court. Therefore Imperial orders had been sent to him that he should come to Foshani, which is in the district of Kandahar and from there he should proceed either *via* the district of Mehrab Bardih, through which he previously intended to come or *via* the route of Sevi Kunjava, which was the homeland of Bakhtiar Khan and coming 4 miles towards Sevas should come to Ahmedabad, Gujrat, through Jaisalmer. From Ahmedabad he should proceed after obtaining the royal permission. He (Durgadas) had therefore been ordered to go to Sevastan and bring prince Muhammad Akbar, to Ahmedabad either *via* Jaisalmer or any other route, which he considered suitable and from there escort him with Shujaat Khan to the Imperial court.

Dated 10th Rajab, Regnal year 42 (1110 A.H.) (2 January 1699=11 Paush Sudi 1755 v.s.).

It is impressed with the seals of the Emperor and vazir Asafuddaula. The Emperor's seal contains year 1079 A.H.

Farman No. 2

It was written by Emperor Shah Alam Bahadurshah to Rathor Durgadas, whom he had addressed as best among the kinsmen and relatives. It acknowledges his petition of allowing him to present himself at the Imperial court and commands him to present himself at the court soon after receiving this farman.

Dated 17th Zilkad, 1st Regnal year (29 January 1708=Phalgun vadi v.s.)

It also bears the seals of the Emperor and the vazir Asafuddaula. The Emperor's seal contains the year 1119 A.H.

Farman No. 3

It was written by Emperor Shah Alam Bahadur Shah and was addressed to Rathor Durgadas.

It bears an Imperial seal which contains the following names:—(1) Amir Taimur, (2) Ibn Miranshah, (3) Ibn Sultan Muhammad Shah, (4) Ibn Abusaid Shah, (5) Ibn Umarshekh Shah, (6) Ibn Babar Badshah, (7) Ibn Humayun Badshah, (8) Ibn Akbar Badshah, (9) Ibn Jahangir Badshah, (10) Ibn Shah Jahan Badshah, (11) Ibn Alamgir Badshah, (12) Ibn Shah Alam Bahadurshah Badshah

It states that his petition requesting the permission for attending the court and a grant of farman was presented in the royal court, hence this farman was issued in his name. After receiving this he should present himself at the Imperial court, so that he might receive more Imperial favours.

(On the reverse of this farman are written a series of the titles of vazir Asafuddaula according to the custom of the court writers).

It also contains the seal of vazir Asafuddaula. But its date and the regnal year is not clear.

Farman No. 4

It was sent by Emperor Jahandar Shah to Rathor Durgadas. It states that though Muhammad Azim with Muhammad Karim Rafi-ul-Qadir and Khujista Akhtar as well as his son was killed, yet by good fortune victory was achieved. The Emperor being pleased had bestowed upon him (Durgadas) the personal rank of 4,000, 3,000 horse and the title of Rao.

He should be thankful for this favour, remain loyal and attend our court.

Dated 6th Rebi-ul-Akhir, 1st Regnal year (1124 A.H.) 2 May 1712 = 7 Vaishakh Sudi 1769 v.s.)

Contains the seals of the Emperor and his vazir Asafuddaula. The first seal contains the year 1123 A.H.

Farman No. 5

A farman written by Emperor Jahandar Shah to Durgadas in his 1st Regnal year, 29th Ziqad 1124 A.H. (1st day of the bright half of Paush 1769 v.s. = 17 December 1712).

It states that Durgadas after being expectant of kingly favours may know that in these auspicious days it was conveyed to us (the king) that a near relation requests our permission to attend the Royal presence and awaits our commands to that effect. It is hereby commanded that on receipt of this farman he would unhesitatingly present himself at our court where he will be honoured with kingly favours.

Farman No. 6

It was written by Emperor Farrukhsiyar to Mahmud Khan. It appoints Rathor Durgadas as Faujdar (Magistrate) of Ahmedabad and further instructs that he (Durgadas) should manage the affairs according to law and usage, should turn out rebels and bad persons and should take care of the tax payers. He should note these express commands of the Emperor.

It further stipulates the addressee that he should note the dignity and the position of Rao Durgadas, who had been appointed as his deputy by the order of the Emperor.

It is not possible to trace the date on this farman. It might have been written in 1125 A.H. (1770 v.s.=1713) as is evident from the seal, which contains the year 1125 A.H. and the name of Davarkhan.

Farman No. 7

It was issued by Emperor Farrukhsiyar and addressed to Rathor Durgadas. It states that his request was received. The Emperor had kindly granted him a robe of honour and studded bracelets. He should therefore be gratified with the favour and be loyal so that he may prosper more.

Dated 4th Zilkad, 2nd Regnal year 1126 A.H. (31 October 1714=4 Kartik Sudi 1771 v.s.)

It has also got the seal of the Emperor which contains Regnal year 1 and 1125 A.H.

A LETTER WRITTEN BY DHARAM RAJA OF BHUTAN TO THE MAHARAJA OF COOCH BEHAR

By Amanatulla Ahmad

The Devaraja of Bhutan occupied the country of Cooch Behar and captured its ruler—Maharaja Dhairjendra Narayana and took him to the hills with his Dewan as prisoner in 1769. His son Maharaja Dharendra Narayan concluded a treaty with the East India Company in 1772 and with this help got back the country and secured the release of the captive Raja with the Dewan. Maharaja Dhairjendra Narayan complained to the Dharmaraja, who was the spiritual and administrative head of Bhutan, against the conduct of his captor and asked for alterations in the boundary of his territory. The following is the translation of the reply of Dharmaraja to the Maharaja of Cooch Behar. It was written in a mixed dialect of Bengali and Assamese at Tashishudan, Capital of Bhutan, in 1777. The reply says that the Dharmaraja condemned the outrageous behaviour of the then Devaraja towards the ruler of Cooch Behar. The Dharmaraja was in favour of continuance of the traditional friendship which existed between the rulers of Bhutan and Cooch Behar. Mr. Bogle, the representative of the East India Company, went to Bhutan in 1774. The Dharmaraja told him also about this and the new Devaraja was advised to give his attention to the allegation of reduction of the land of Cooch Behar.

TRANSLATION

(Conch Marked Seal)

Order of Shri Shri Dharmaraja Thakur

Blessings to Shri Shri Maharaja of Vihar (Cooch Behar). All are well here. We always wish your welfare. It is a great pleasure to us to receive all news by a letter through your *ukil* (representative) and also verbally from him. What you have said is true. Sometime ago the ex-Devaraja, while he was on the throne, carried you away to the hills and gave you much trouble and in course of war he destroyed and seized your territory. These facts are all known to you. For the reasons stated in previous correspondence he was removed from the throne; and for the restoration of the welfare of the country fresh arrangement was made for the restoration and some new arrangement was made for the purpose. From time immemorial there has been a friendly relation between the Maharajas and ourselves and there has been no

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estrangement till now. Keeping that in mind I instructed the new Devaraja to consider the question of alteration (*kama besha*) in the boundaries of your territory and year before last, at the time of departure of Mr. Bogle Firingi (English) from Bhutan, I told him clearly about the matter. Our Bhutia *ukil* with sufficient money was to go to Calcutta with your *ukil* but our *ukil* died on reaching Calcutta, while waiting for your *ukil*. In spite of this fact I am not indifferent to your interests. However, now it is rainy season, so it is not the due time. Hence in dry season I will send a *jinkup* (a class of officer) *ukil* to Calcutta; and your *ukil* too should go to Calcutta at that time. And he will remain there under his care, so that your *ukil* and my *ukil* may go together. Please see that this arrangement does not fail.

It is said that you are always in different mind and bestow no care and attention on the administrative affairs. What is this? This should not be done. At the present juncture please do not remain in this indifferent mood.

About Nazir Kumar I say that he is your officer and you are a ruler. In the present spirit of time if he is of different opinion with you, you should pardon him and try to bring him to your side; he is your relative. Orders have been communicated to the Devaraja on all matters. I am sure that after going through the letter you will do the needful; that will surely be good to you and you must take it from me.

Order passed at Tashi-shamey (Tashi-Shudan) 267 Sac. (1777 A.D.), Five moon, date 29th Ashar.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN RECORD PRESERVATION

By Arthur E. Kimberly

The National Archives of the United States has been one of the leading exponents of scientific record preservation since its formation in 1935. Among its contributions are the lamination process for reinforcing and preserving fragile documents by impregnation with cellulose acetate, the vacuum process for fumigating books and records, the air stream method of cleaning documents and other minor innovations. Research was curtailed sharply during the years of the recent war, but was renewed in 1946. The purpose of this paper is to outline our progress in the field of scientific record preservation during the period 1946-1948.

Two significant developments were made in the field of lamination. One of these dealt with the processing of documents comprising twenty sheets or less, which were formerly laminated and then sewed into a paper cover so that the document could be handled as a single unit. A tab bearing identifying data was laminated to the first sheet in such a manner that it projected over the edge of the shelf when the material was flat filed. Each sheet was equipped with a cloth strip (2 inch surgical gauze) along the binding edge to take the sewing. When sewn into a kraft paper cover, the resulting pamphlets were somewhat thicker at the back than at the front and, therefore, could not be stacked as high as if this unevenness were not present. Additionally the time consumed in jacketing the sewing raised the cost of the finished product considerably. An investigation designed to find more satisfactory and cheaper method of treatment was undertaken and after considerable experimentation a process, whereby both lamination and binding are accomplished simultaneously in one pass through the hydraulic press was developed.

In the new process, the individual sheets making up the documents are placed between sheets of cellulose acetate foil in the usual manner and a strip of cloth is placed along the binding edge of the sheet. Both paper and cloth are fastened to the foil at several points by the application of a small amount of pure acetone. A kraft paper cover of the proper size is placed open upon a press plate and partially covered with metallic aluminium foil so placed that only an inch strip running vertically parallel with the hinge is uncovered. A prepared sheet is then added to the stack in such a position that the cloth binding strip rests upon the uncovered portion of the cover while the foil covering the remainder of the sheet rests upon the aluminum and

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paper is repeated until the booklet is completely assembled and the cover is closed upon the top sheet of aluminum. Heat and pressure are then applied to the complete assembly in a hydraulic press. Upon removal from the press, the sheets of aluminum are removed. The final result of this process is a paper covered booklet of laminated pages, the binding edges of which are firmly fused together. Booklets of this type may be stored in sizeable stacks without danger of slippage, open flat for ease in reference and photography and are more economical in labor than the sewed variety.

Another problem which was solved by a modification of the lamination process was the mounting of maps. The conventional method of reinforcing maps is by mounting them on cloth (usually cotton sheeting) using starch paste as an adhesive. Mountings of this sort afford satisfactory reinforcement at first but as the paste ages a loosening of the bond between paper and cloth occurs which eventually results in separation of the two. Moreover, such mountings give no protection to the surface of the map and are susceptible to attack by molds and insects. Research here has shown that maps can be mounted on cloth using a sheet of cellulose acetate foil in lieu of the usual layer of paste and causing the acetate to adhere to both map and cloth by the application of heat and pressure in a hydraulic press. The bond between the paper and the cloth in this event is permanent and is unaffected by age, moisture, molds or insects. If desired, the face of the map may also be protected by another sheet of acetate which can be applied at the same time and in the same operation as the mounting. Maps mounted and covered in this fashion have undergone service tests under severe tropical conditions with no noticeable deterioration. This sort of mounting is also more flexible and less bulky than the conventional type.

Containers for unbound records have been the subject of much attention on the part of archivists in an effort to devise a cheap, light weight container which would afford protection against fire, water and insects, and, at the same time permit the optimum use of storage space. The original equipment here was designed for horizontal storage and consisted of shallow, metal drawers or trays, equipped with covers, of which twelve or twenty four were contained in a metal frame, known as a tray-case. The storage areas were equipped with metal uprights so spaced that three twenty-four tray tray-cases, piled one on top of the other, could be accommodated between each pair of uprights. Equipment of this type is wasteful of space and gives no protection against fire although flame will not spread from one tray to another.

In 1942 under the pressure of a space shortage vertical filing came under consideration and a cardboard container was devised to accommodate five linear inches of records stored vertically. Using shelves and these cardboard containers an increase of approximately thirty per cent in the volume of records which could be stored in a given unit of space was obtained. The lighter weight of these containers, their increased resistance to the wear and tear

of use and the important fact that cardboard could be obtained during the war years made them particularly attractive. However, their low resistance to fire and the fact that flame may be propagated from one such container to another are distinct drawbacks to their extensive use.

As the direct outgrowth of the fire testing of cardboard containers and the metal containers, a new type of document container has been developed. This box is basically the standard cardboard document container with the addition of a thin sheet of aluminum foil on both the inner and outer surfaces of the box. This novel type of container will permit its contents to survive unharmed in fire which results in the total destruction of the contents of both metal containers and the old type of cardboard container. Work now underway points to the adoption of a box made of foil-coated corrugated board so constructed as to permit the storage of both letter and legal size documents without waste space.

The maintenance and rebinding of bound records has always been an expensive proposition. This is particularly true if the paper has deteriorated to such an extent that the stitches can no longer be held at the back of the signatures and guards must therefore be inserted prior to sewing. In such cases it has been our practice to dismantle the book entirely and to laminate each sheet incorporating a strip of gauze along the binding margin. Sheets so treated may be bound by oversewing and subsequent insertion into covers of the conventional type. Recent work here indicates, however, that more satisfactory results may be obtained by drilling holes through these binding strips and fastening the sheets into a binder by means of metal posts which pass through holes in the binder then through the holes in the sheet and are secured through the back cover by a suitable locking device. The metal posts and the backs of the pages which would otherwise be exposed are covered by a piece of buckram which is securely glued to the covers. Bindings of this type may be easily dismantled if it is desired to microfilm the contents or to correct errors in arrangement, which may be discovered at a later date. Additionally the course of treatment in this fashion is approximately one third of the cost of the conventional binding. Titles and other identifying data may be printed on the backs and covers of these bindings by the usual methods.

It is hoped that the story of the developments in the field of record preservation will prove helpful to other workers in the same field and will stimulate research and development work in this neglected by road of science.

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CHINESE SOURCES FOR INDIAN HISTORY

By Chia-Luen Lo

Like the knights of the Grail historians know no national boundaries in their quest for sources for history ; but unlike the knights they can oftner than not attain their objects if they follow the right direction. For instance, in recent decades, Chinese historians like Hung Chiung¹, Ko Shao-Wen² and Tu Chi³ completed their important works on the history of the Yuan Dynasty (*i.e.* the history of the Mongolian period) by collecting, comparing, analyzing and utilizing historical materials from Western sources bearing upon that period, thereby giving rise to a new type of scholarship on Yuan history. Scholars of Iranian history will always appreciate the contributions found in B. Laufer's famous book *Sino-Iranica* which, revealing as it does Chinese sources hitherto unknown, throws a great deal of light on the history of Iran. And I cannot help feeling a little proud when I say that books

His Excellency Dr. Chia-Luen Lo, the Chinese Ambassador to India is a distinguished educationist and author of many important publications. Before coming to India as the Ambassador of China, Dr. Lo held many important positions in his country. He was the President of Tsing Hua University; Chancellor, National Central University; and Director and Dean of Studies, Central Political Institute, Nanking. Since 1927 he has been professor of History at different times in the National South-Eastern, National Peking and National Wuhan Universities. He was a member of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, Foreign Affairs Committee, Education Committee, Central Political Council and Peoples' Political Council.

Among his publications may be mentioned : *Science and Metaphysics*; *A Critical Study of the Official Documents concerning Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Kidnapping in London* ; *Philosophy of Life* ; *The Fundamental Principles of National Reconstruction* ; *A New Outlook on Life*.

¹ Chinese Minister in St. Petersburg at the end of the 19th century, whose scholarly work " Supplementary Evidences from Translations for the History of the Yuan Dynasty " is a comparative study of Chinese and Iranian sources for that period.

² A great authority on the Yuan period, whose monumental work " The New History of the Yuan Dynasty " is generally accepted by Chinese and Japanese historians as a masterly contribution to the study of that dynasty.

³ Late professor of the National Peking University, whose work " The History of the Mongols " is a careful study with reference to Western sources.

by Chinese scholar-pilgrims, such as Fa Hsien, Yuan Chwang, and I Tsing, written in the early centuries and preserved to this day, can still be valuable sources for Indian history. Indeed, their names and books may be regarded as an inseparable part of Indian history and historiography as well.

Curiously, the records and writings of those Chinese pilgrims have been little known in modern India until European scholars translated some of them into English and other European languages. Great credit goes to James Legge⁴, Thomas Watters,⁵ Samuel Beal,⁶ St. Julien⁷, and a few other European sinologues. Distinguished Western scholars of Chinese history and explorers in Central Asia, such as Edouard Chauvannes, Henri Cordier, Paul Pelliot, and Aurel Stein also regarded as authoritative references the records and writings of those Chinese scholar-pilgrims. It is a pity, if not an irony, that we Chinese and Indians have done practically nothing in this kind of interesting and important translation work.

In my earlier years I began to interest myself in the works of those Chinese scholar-pilgrims and felt drawn to a style of amazing accuracy found in Yuan Chwang's *T'a-Tang-Hsi-Yu-Chi* (Records of the Countries West of Tang) and his disciple Hui Li's biography of him of the title of *Ta-Tzu-En-Ssu-San-Tsang-Fa-Shih-Chuan* (Records of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Compassion Monastery). Both books contain a detailed and clear picture of the conditions of India in general and those of the reign of Harsha in particular in respect of culture, education, calendar, measures, politics, social relations, agricultural produce, industrial products, and, above all, religious traditions. Yuan Chwang was a most beloved and esteemed

4. "Fa Hien's Records of Buddhist Kingdoms" translated by James Legge.

5. Thomas Watters' "On Yuan Chwang Travels in India, 629-645 A.D." an English translation of Yuan Chwang's "*Ta-Tang-Hsi-Yu-Chi*" (Records of the countries West of Tang.) with commentaries.

6. Samuel Beal's "Buddhist Records of the Western World," a collection of his translations of the works of Fa Hsien, Sung Yun and Yuan Chwang.

7. St. Julien: "Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Tsang et de ses voyages dans l'Inde, depuis l'an 629 jusqu'à 645". It is to be noted also that the work of I Tsing, "*Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nei-fa-Chuan*" was translated by Prof. J. Takakusu of Japan, the title of the translation being "Record of the Buddhist Religion".

disciple of Silabhadra and proved such a brilliant and original scholar in Buddhist studies that his master and eminent fellow-scholars showered upon him overwhelming admiration and even made him the occupant of the first chair among the lecturers in the Nalanda Monastery, the great centre of learning of the time. His unique academic standing may be compared to the regius professorship plus deanship in a time-honoured English university, but Yuan Chwang was a scholar and personality of such an unparalleled stature of any age. His records and writings have also for centuries helped his fellow countrymen to know India and her cultural and philosophical wealth.

After and even before Fa Hsien, Yuan Chwang, and I Tsing, there came to India many other Chinese scholar-pilgrims at different times between the third and eighth centuries. Their records and writings, though they may not reach the high plane of those of the best known three pioneers, are, nevertheless, highly valuable in their own right. Here, we cannot do better than to quote the late Prof. Liang Chi-Chao, an eminent scholar and reformer, who made a revealing study of Sino-Indian cultural relations in early times and a far-reaching search for the names and deeds of those scholar-pilgrims first to go to India to build up an intellectual bridge. His essay *Chinese Students going Abroad 1500 Years Ago and Afterwards* was generally accepted as a careful treatise on this subject. In his *The Study of Chinese History*, a well-known book on Chinese historical methodology, the author told his own story of how he had done the research work :—

It has long been my endeavour to trace out the ancient cultural relations between China and India and to discover a stream of those Chinese scholar-pilgrims who went to India to cultivate such relations. Fa Hsien and Yuan Chwang are, no doubt, well known names. But my final findings among historical records and individual biographies cover 105 scholar-pilgrims whose names can be established and 82 others whose names are in oblivion. Anyway, for all we know, as many as 187 of them visited or attempted to visit India at different times. At first, I confined my research to Hui Chiao's *Kao-Seng-Chuan* (Biographies of Eminent Buddhists) and I Tsing's *Ta-Tang-Hsi-Yu-Chiu-Fa-Kao-Seng Chuan* (Biographies of Westward Pilgrims) and I was overjoyed when I had

collected therein the names of 67 scholar-pilgrims. My continued efforts in several months brought the total to 187, whom I classified according to their respective periods, places of birth, routes they took from China to India, scholastic achievements, and so on. These findings, I believe, will serve to throw some light upon Sino-Indian relations in the olden days and the interactions of the Indian and Chinese arts, literatures and philosophies.

Part of Prof. Liang's findings on this subject is as follows :—

<i>Number of Pilgrims</i>	<i>Period of going to India</i>
2	Later part of 3rd century
5	4th century
61	5th century
14	6th century
56	7th century
31	8th century

<i>Number of Pilgrims</i>	<i>Condition of Trip and Sojourn</i>
42	They learned in India and returned to China.
16	They are known to have gone as far as Western Sinkiang, but it is not certain whether they went on into India.
Unknown number	They did not reach India; they turned back after having covered a greater part of the journey.
2	They did reach India, but they returned to China shortly.
31	They never reached India : they died on the way.
6	They died in India.
5	They died on their way back to China after having completed their studies in India.
6	They made their second pilgrimage to India. One of them died midway of his return trip to India.
7	They stayed on in India indefinitely.
Unknown number	It cannot be established whether they stayed on in India or returned to China or where they died.

All in all, 109 pilgrim-scholars can be traced with a fair amount of certainty while 82 others or more must be left to further research. Among the former, 37 died on their journey to or back from India and six died in India, making a death rate of 39.4 per cent. This surprisingly high mortality must be accepted when we see what almost insurmountable difficulties attended their travel in those days across quicksand deserts and over snowcapped mountains. For instance, when Yuan Chwang passed through the Yu Men Gate and debouched upon the Mo-Ho-Yen Desert, he recorded, "Here I can hardly proceed. So thirsty I am, having had not a drop of water for five days and four nights. I might die any moment....." In the limitless expanse of the desert, this and other lone wayfarers followed no guide but the bleached bones of men and animals lying on the nondescript trail. As for the sea voyage it was beset by all manner of dangers and voyagers had to beg for their lives from winds and waves. Fa Hsien, for instance, braved the sea on his return trip to China. Once his boat was caught in a storm and the skipper ordered all the passengers to jettison all their belongings except necessary clothes. But Fa Hsien threw overboard his very clothes and kept his Buddhist scriptures and images instead. In another instance, while a furious typhoon was threatening to devour and capsize his boat, his fellow-passengers ascribed the wrath of the sea to the presence in their midst of a monk, and so they came near to throwing him into the sea as an appeasement. His intended destination was Canton, but, after being blown here and there for months, he finally landed at Tsingtao. It was a miracle that Fa Hsien and Yuan Chwang survived all the dangers of deserts, mountains, and seas. Only their thirst for knowledge, their religious fervour, their love for India, their conviction, fortitude and courage sustained them throughout their pilgrimage and such a spirit will always be a source of inspiration for those of us who wish to study India and Indian history and to develop closer Sino-Indian cultural relations.

While many of the pilgrims are not known to have left behind records or reminiscences, quite a few of them did write books, many of which later perished. For instance, the following books written by learned pilgrims in the 5th century are now known by their mere titles. *The Autobiography of Tao Yeh*, *Yu-lieh-Wai-Kuo-Chuan* (A Traveller's Records of Foreign Countries) by Bao Yun, *Wai-Kuo-Chuan* (Records of Foreign Countries) by Tuan Chin, and *Li-Kuo-Chuan-Chi*

(Through Different Countries) by Fa Yung..all seem to have been lost or in obscurity. This undoubtedly is lamentable, but one must not give up hope and say that these and other lost books or manuscripts are entirely irretrievable. Hwei Chao's *Wan-Wu-Tien-Chu-Kuo-Chuan* (Travels in Five Parts of India), written in the early 8th century, had long been given up as a complete loss until, forty years ago, it was discovered in part, by accident, in the Thousand Buddha Caves of Tung Huang, Kansu Province. This salvage consists of more than six thousand scribed words, which are of course only a portion, not an essential one at that, of a long book. Yet a new hope wells up in the hearts of those who are always searching for missing links in historical data. The late Mr. Lo Tsen-Yu edited this revived portion of the lost book of Hwei Chao in his *Cloud Window Collection*.

There are books which are partially preserved in another manner. They no longer exist in whole by themselves, but references to and quotations from them appear in books and records by their contemporaries and later authors. For instance, Wang Hsiun-Cheh, Chinese envoy to the court of Harsha for Emperor Tai-Chung of the Tang Dynasty, wrote a book in ten volumes, entitled *Travels in Central India*. Unfortunately, this important work is nowhere to be found today, albeit some fragments of it appear in *Fa-Yuan-Chu-Ling* (The Pearled Forest in the Garden of Supreme Laws), a voluminous compilation of stories related to Buddhism and to the Land of Buddha, edited by Tao Shie, a learned monk of the Tang Dynasty. I am inclined to think that in different sets of *Chun-hsu*, usually in the form of a stupendous series of compiled and collected works, there lies a rich field for multifarious attempts at historical research.

Buddhism, no doubt, supplied the chief inspiration for the cultivation of cultural relations between China and India in old times. Consequently, books by Chinese scholar-pilgrims, which contain the fruits of their study of Buddhism as their main objective, not infrequently shed side-lights upon the various periods of Indian history. For instance, the consecutive series of the famous work *Kao-Seng-Chuan* (Biographies of Eminent Buddhists), the first series of which was written by Hui Chiao and the second by Tao Hsuen, contain various materials on conditions in India, in relation to or told by those

Buddhist masters concerned, during various periods from the fifth to the eighth centuries. Chi Pang's *General Records of Buddhist Masters* and Nien Chang's *Chronicles of Buddhist Masters* and some other books of the line can also guide us through the long journey of this research.

Another source to be explored lies not in the works of pilgrims, but in those of historians. Ssu Ma Chien, the Herodotus of Chinese history, was the first to write not only on China proper but also on the northwestern border regions and the neighbouring countries beyond, and his stupendous work *Shih-Chi* (Historical Records) was to serve as an illustrious example of history-writing for later historians, by virtue of both comprehension and comprehensiveness. Following this beaten path, Pan Ku wrote *Han-Shu* (History of the Han Dynasty) and Fan Yeh wrote *Hou-Han-Shu* (History of the Later Han Dynasty), both with chapters on "Countries of the Western region" including at least a part of India. Chapters of similar nature are found in *Wei-Shu* (History of the Wei Dynasty) by Wei Siu, *Chiu-Tang-Shu* (History of the Tang Dynasty) by Liu Hsu and others, *Sin-Tang-Shu* (A new History of Tang Dynasty) by Ou-Yang Siu and others, and *Sung-Shih* (History of the Sung Dynasty) by To-Keh-To and others. In *Sin-Tan-Shu* there is a section on Kashmir, and in *Sung-Shih* a section on India.

Apart from the above-mentioned standard historical works, references to India exist also in works of sub-historical nature though they treat in the main of institutions, customs, and personages of different Chinese dynasties. Tu Yu's *Tung-Tien* (General Institutional History of China), Wang Pu's *Tang-Hui-Yao* (Essential Records of the Tang Dynasty) and Wang Chin-Yo's *Tse Fu Yuan Kwei* (a huge collection of various works, completed about the end of the 10th century, consisting of 1,000 volumes, under the general editorship of Wang Chin-Yo by order of Emperor Chen Chung of the Sung Dynasty) contain materials of historical interest with reference to India, although they are very much scattered in various parts and would call forth painstaking work in research.

In later ages, with the improvement of the technique of navigation, Chinese travellers began to take to the sea routes to India and more of them were motivated by trade interests than by religious fervour. Indeed, the contact between the southeastern parts of

China and the southeastern parts of India turned to a different aspect of Sino-Indian relations and it was characterized by a lamentable drop in the high intellectual level set by the earlier pilgrims. However, some of the travellers of this period did leave behind their own records; or else we gather their accounts and descriptions of the lands they had visited in the writings by others. Both kinds are still of historical value. In *Sung-Shih* there is a description of the country of Chu-lion, which, by inference of the context, is no other than Chola. *Ming Shih* (The History of Ming Dynasty) records Men-ga-li as having diplomatic relations with China in the 6th year of Emperor Yun Lo (1408) and in the third year of Emperor Chen Tung (1438). Men-ga-li was evidently the Chinese version of Bengal. The customs and institutions of Bengal in those days are also delineated in Ma Huan's *Yin-Yieh-Shen-Lan* (Scenes beyond the Seas), Fei Sin's *Sin-Cho-Shen-Lan* (In a Boat Floating toward a Starry Land,) and Chen Jen-Sieh's, *Huan-Ming-Shi-Fa-Lu* (Political and Legal Ordinances of the Imperial Ming Dynasty). Therein is found Co-Chi State, which is the nearest Chinese translation of Cochin.

In *Ming Shih*, the Cape of Comorin is pronounced as Cum-ba-li. Marco Polo's Comari is a corruption from Kumari in Sanskrit. According to the records of the early Portuguese settlers in India, the King of Comari had under his aegis the states of Kaulam and Travancore. These coasts witnessed the earliest Chinese fleet paying courtesy visits to India. It was commanded by Cheng Ho, who came with a mission to establish contact with the countries in south-eastern Asia.

The above-mentioned sources are simply a few illustrations which may lead to further research and to more fruitful results in the study of Indian history by dint of Chinese materials. Handicapped as I am by a very limited number of books which I have with me in Delhi, I regret that I have not been able to write more than I have done on a subject which I am sure you will agree with me requires any number of references and is in the nature of things hardly exhaustible. I should, however, content myself with this much and hope that a straw thus picked up may suffice to show which way the wind blows. Historical research anyway exacts very much time, patience and labour. A true historian shall never overlook tributaries to the stream of history but work on in the ardent belief that such tributaries, insignificant and feeble as they may at first appear,

will accumulate by degrees and finally form a strong current in the river bed, carrying the past over to the present. And historical research is a field which yields more the more it is tapped. Such is the spiritual reward for the historian, apart from his possible contributions to the monument and heritage of human achievements.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS: SOME REMINISCENCES OF AN ENGLISH ARCHIVIST 1923—1948

Hilary Jenkinson*

Introductory

It has seemed to me, thinking it over, that I could not do better by way of greeting the Indian Historical Records Commission on its twenty-fifth anniversary than to recapitulate certain happenings which have occurred within my own experience during the last twenty-five years and which struck me as particularly significant for the development of our Profession during that time : because even if they are already well-known to you, or if I recount them badly, at least by bringing them together on this occasion, and before an audience not connected directly with our work over here (for I speak primarily as an English Archivist) I emphasize what I consider to be the most important point about the Archivist's work. That is the fact that the broad principles which govern or should govern our procedure are the same not only for all grades of Archives in any one Country—the Privately-Owned, the Ecclesiastical, the Local, the National—but for all purposes and no matter to what Country the Archives may belong : that our Science in short is fundamentally international. Our detailed processes must of course vary enormously : I should be very foolish if I copied in England repairing methods suitable to the climate, materials and other conditions common in India, or advised you to borrow wholesale the methods suitable to our conditions : and the same remark applies to technical processes of all kinds, from the editorial downwards. But though the methods may differ widely the principles which lie behind them, the reasons why we adopt this method and not that in repairing or sorting or listing or editing or any other of our technical processes—those are the same no matter what the Country, Climate or other conditions may be. We may each see and avoid (or see and copy) the mistakes or the successes of the other in parallel though in different circumstances.

*Mr. Hilary Jenkinson, C.B.E., F.S.A., before assuming the post of Deputy Keeper of the Records, Public Record Office, London, was the Secretary of the British Records Association. One of the most eminent archivists of recent times, Mr Jenkinson was for sometime scholar of Pembroke College and F.W. Maitland Lecturer in the University of Cambridge and Reader in Diplomatic and English Archives in the University of London. Among his most important publications, is the *Manual of Archive Administration*, which is the only original book in English on the subject.

What—before I start my reminiscences—are those principles ? Or I might almost say is that principle ? It is based on a simple conviction which I will make bold to put shortly by saying that the Archivist is the dedicated servant of Research and his creed the Sanctity of Evidence. As I see it he is not there to collect interesting pieces but to receive such natural accessions of Archives as the terms of his employment may bring—whether he is serving the Nation or the Local Authority or a Professional Body or any other Institution which carries on work and puts away for reference the Documents that work produced. He is there not to select for priority treatment the Documents which he thinks will or ought to interest some body of contemporary Students ; still less to give any such priority to those which interest himself : but to extend so far as possible the same care and treatment to all. Above all he is there to arrange or bind or list or pack his Documents not in the way which he thinks most ornamental, or most convenient for himself or the Students known to him, but in the way which will preserve for all Students and all purposes—Students yet unknown and purposes not necessarily predictable—everything of an evidential character which there may be about them: from the way in which they were written to the way in which they were folded, sewn, filed or otherwise made up ; from the order, or disorder, in which he received them to the indications they may contain of previous consultation. For him the blank page, if it is original, must be as sacred as the written one : it is not his business to inquire what, if anything, is its significance ; it is enough for him that it is a part, possibly evidential, of an Archive entrusted to his custody.

The word 'Archives'

It may sound absurd to set down as a stage in development the mere use of a word, but the fact remains that by adopting officially this title and making it—as they are doing—an increasingly familiar word in their Languages the English and American enthusiasts who for more than twenty-five years have been trying to secure adequate public attention to the conservation of their Country's heritage of historical documents have not only marked but made a great step forward. It is not that 'Archives' is a new word in the English language—it was in correct use so far back as the 16th century—but it had fallen into desuetude, or perhaps I should say never risen to popularity. Its use, for example, in description of the Public Records in the early years of my own service would have meant in

most companies that one would not be understood and in the rest that one would be set down as rather priggish^r or precious. Now it can be used by a Journalist or a Member of Parliament without exciting comment. By bringing it into use officially, and comparatively freely elsewhere, we have ranged ourselves with all the other Countries speaking a language of European origin, for it is common to all. At once, you see, the international angle of approach to Archives, of which I spoke, is in evidence : on this subject of Nomenclature we are all speaking one language.

But we have done more than that by what I may call the introduction of 'Archives' to Society : for the use of the word expresses much more than it is possible to convey by any other means. The word 'Records' is of course the principal alternative ; and indeed that word can never be entirely superseded : I cannot conceive the Record Office ever being called anything but the Record Office ; and when we founded the Institution of which I shall speak next we christened it the British Records Association. But for general purposes the word is at once too narrow and too broad. In the mind of the Legal specialists with whom it originated its senses are carefully restricted and to the mind of everyone else it may mean many things from artificial music to athletic championship, but seldom suggests Documents. 'Archives' is open to neither of these objections : it is at once precise in its meaning and wide in its possible implications ; for its modern sense is still much the same as that of the Greek word from which it is derived and even in elaborating and defining its wider uses writers in different Countries have not diverged upon essentials. The American and the English uses are in fact remarkably homogeneous and it is a noteworthy fact that the first Archivist of the United States should have been able to quote in a Report to Congress, in explanation of the function which his newly founded Office would discharge, two definitions propounded quite independently in America and England which, while completely different in language, yet contained, I think I may say, though I was one of the propounders*, precisely the same ideas.

The word thus adopted has produced naturally derivatives of all kinds both adjectival and nominal : so that we can speak readily of Archivists, Archive Science, School of Archives, Archive Economy

*The other was that excellent historical Scholar Charles M. Andrews : the two quotations will be found at pp. 4 and 5 of the *'Third Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States'*.

and Organization, Archive Quality or Character, and the 'Archives' of every known variety of Business, Public or Private. Its introduction has in fact given form in language to the conception of a new field of human work and knowledge, self contained though with relations in every other department of scientific labour. To coin ourselves a compound adjective, we have succeeded in making our Public to some extent archive-conscious : and though perhaps we come late to the field I think the British contribution and most certainly the American*, to Archive Scholarship and Technique will be judged ultimately not the least important which have marked its growth during the last quarter of a century.

The British Records Association

After what I have just said the heading of this section may seem something of a contradiction. But the British Records Association, though for sentimental and other reasons it adheres to the older word in its title, has consistently used 'Archives'—indeed it could not well have done otherwise—in its Reports, in description of the various activities it has initiated or sponsored and in the titles of its publications. An account of the first fifteen years of the life of this Body, which was founded in 1932 by a small band of enthusiasts, and of the long series of events which preceded it, has recently been given in a Report† from the two Officers who during that period acted as its joint Honorary Secretaries. To summarise—Archive Custodians and Owners in England, Public, Semi-Public and Private, Local and Ecclesiastical, have always been and practically still are completely autonomous : whether they keep, and how they keep, their Archives is a matter which is left to their own decision. The British Records Association came into being in order to deal, so far as possible, with this situation upon a basis of consent and voluntary effort. Its objects, to quote its Constitution, are

*I have confined myself in these Notes to occurrences or developments in which I have had some personal share. Otherwise I could not fail to put in the forefront of Archive History during the last twenty-five years the triumphant establishment, after many years of agitation and fruitless attempts, of a National Archive Authority in the United States ; its magnificent installation : and the almost incredibly swift developments since, both in State and Nation, of a highly equipped and deeply interested Archive Service.

†'1932 to 1947 : being a Report of the Joint Honorary Secretaries on their Retirement'.

"to promote the preservation and accessibility under the best
 "possible conditions of Public, Semi-Public and Private Archives;
 "to take measures for the rescue and distribution to recognized
 "Custodians of Documents which would otherwise be dispersed or
 "destroyed; to arouse public interest in, and to create a sound
 "public opinion on, matters affecting Records ; to ensure the
 "co-operation to those ends of all Institutions and Persons
 "interested; to enable such Institutions and Persons to exchange
 "views upon matters of technical interest relating to the custody,
 "preservation, accessibility and use of Documents ; and to receive
 "and discuss Reports on all these matters from its Council,
 "Committees and Sections as provided below."

The Association aims in fact to co-ordinate all work on Archives ; not
 merely their exploitation but their conservation : that is, to do un-
 officially, or at most semi-officially, the things which in other Coun-
 tries are done by an official inspectorate—and perhaps a few more.

As to the creation of public opinion—it is perhaps enough to
 say that the membership of the Association, which in 1933 included
 85 Institutional and 170 Individual Members, had risen by 1947 to
 346 Institutional and 612 Individual ; and that it never dropped
 appreciably in the War, a convincing proof that the Association's
 aims had commended themselves to public opinion as serious and
 worth-while. In pursuance of its intention to make a popular appeal
 its subscriptions has always been very low. I should add that the
 adequate representation of the public opinion thus created in the acti-
 vities of the Association is secured by the constitution of its Officers
 and Council ; who include as President, the Master of the Rolls,
 titular head of the Public Record Office ; as Vice-Presidents, be-
 sides a limited number elected on account of their distinction and
 past services, representatives of the Society of Antiquaries, the
 Public Record Office, the British Museum, and the Record Interests
 of Ireland, Scotland and Wales : with other nominated Members
 representing the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Royal Historical
 Society, the Institution of Historical Research, the Country Councils
 Association, the Association of Municipal Corporations and the Lib-
 rary Association: while 18 other Members are elected from the Body
 of the Association. Since its foundation well over 100 persons have
 served the Association in this way. In 1941 we thought our state

sufficiently established to warrant us in inviting Royal support, and Queen Mary graciously consented to become our Patron : Her Majesty has shown throughout a very keen interest in all our proceedings.

Apart from the general work of correspondence, finance and the settlement of policy the Council conducts its active work very largely through Committees, of which there have been so far twelve; some more or less permanent, such as the Propaganda, Conference, and Finance Committees, and some created in order to report on special matters such as the Classification Committee. The last named accomplished early the task of planning the field of operations by means of a Report on the Classification of English Archives, which it divided into the five great categories of Public Central, Public Local, Semi-Public, Private and Ecclesiastical; an order now generally accepted and which has had, as we may see later, repercussions outside England. This Report was followed by others more detailed, including in particular one upon the Archives of that primary and most important unit of local administration in England, the Ecclesiastical and Civil Parish : a new and enlarged edition of this is in course of production and will, it is hoped, be widely distributed. But besides Committees the Council and Association have the services of a rather unusual type of organisation—the 'Section' : a kind of glorified Committee, an autonomous unit conducting its own affairs and expending its own grant through its own elected officers but responsible ultimately to the Council to which it periodically reports. These 'Sections' number at present three : the Technical, catering for those Members who are specially interested in the practical problems of Storage, Repair and so forth; the Publications Section which endeavours to co-ordinate the work of the Private Societies (very numerous in our Country) which in the interests of Local, or of some special branch of National History, publish Archives; and finally the Records Preservation Section. The last named, in reality the first to come into existence and indeed representing a movement which preceded the Association itself, exists in order to locate, secure and if necessary take over and place in some suitable public Repository, where they will be available for Students, all those Local and (especially) Private Archives which amid the social and economic changes that our restless age is producing are in danger of dispersal or destruction. It has been the means up to date of transmitting Documents whose numbers run probably into six figures to something like 230 Repositories all over England and in a few cases outside it.

The whole Association meets in conference once a year in London in November and this was never discontinued even in the War ; though on one occasion the meeting took place to the accompaniment of Air Raid Warnings. At first one day was sufficient but now with three Sections, two full days are necessary. Before the War the occasion concluded with a Reception at one of the famous old City Company Halls of London now, alas, for the most part ruined : and this gave opportunity for Exhibitions on a large scale of Record Publications or of Loan Collections of interesting (and often previously unknown) Manuscripts. This last feature we must hope it may be possible to resume: for it was most valuable and instructive. At the Conference papers are read and Resolutions then passed often do much to direct the work of the ensuing year. A final point which must be mentioned here is that of Publications other than the Reports from Committees already described. They include an *Annual Report* from the Council, *Proceedings* at the Annual Conference and the useful '*Year's Work in Archives*' which summarises not merely the periodical reports received from our own Members but those which come to us from other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations and from foreign Countries. Though economic reasons restrict severely the size of this most important publication I must still hope that Indian Archives may bulk increasingly largely in it. The scattered publications of the Association will soon, it is hoped, be brought together in a regularly appearing *Journal*.

The foregoing suggests some reference to the international side of the work of the British Records Association : but that and three other major developments, products of the present period of Reconstruction—the National Register of Archives, the teaching of Archive Science and present plans for Legislation which will give, we hope, a more official character to some of the work for the preservation of Local and Private Archives—are worthy of a separate section each.

International Work on Archives

Some years before the War the *Institut International de Co-operation Intellectuelle*, a permanent section of the League of Nations sited in Paris, assembled on two or three occasions a Committee of Expert Archivists : I had the honour of presiding at its first session. This Committee decided on two projects. First it would secure the

preparation of an International Guide to Archives (for the preliminary survey of the field was seen to be the essential first step) ; and secondly it would arrange for a periodical International Conference of Archivists. The second project never came to fruition—war or rumours of War prevented it—but the first volume of a *Guide International des Archives* (covering all nations of Europe) was duly compiled and published. Preparation of a second was stopped—again by War.

Very recently, at the instance this time of the head of the Archives of the United States of America, UNESCO, successor to the functions of the *Institute International*, summoned another small committee of Archive Experts in Paris : I again had the honour of presiding at some of its meetings. This Committee, concentrating on the creation of an International Congress with continuing Committees, has gone so far as to draft a constitution for an International Council of Archives, constitute itself a provisional representative of that body, appoint officers and start planning for a Congress in (probably) 1950. I should like to think that first Congress might take place in England : at least I hope it will take place and that Indian Archivists will be well represented at it. There is no doubt of the good it might do : without as well as within the Archivist's profession.

The National Register of Archives

It is a curious fact, and something of a reflection on us and our predecessors, that when, in the course of War, it was found possible to persuade the Authorities more immediately concerned with Civil Defence or Military Action to spare a thought for the defence of Archives and when the natural question was asked—'Where are these Archives ?'—We found that in no Country was there any single comprehensive List of Archives of all categories, Public and Private, Central and Local, Civil and Ecclesiastical. When, in 1940, Civil Defence in England was entrusted to Regional Commissioners the British Records Association, approaching them in concert with the Historical Manuscripts Commission, had to begin by constructing such a List—very hastily made and imperfect of course (it contained less than 2000 entries) but still comprehensive and the first of its kind. When I went out to Italy at the request of the War Office to organise Archive defence there a like task awaited me, and I had to do the same later for Western Germany, for the information of the Armies and of the authorities of Military Government and the Control Commissions.

In Italy we had the benefit of whole-hearted co-operation (once we had entered Rome) from the Italian Archive service : and I have hopes that our Lists, and the organised enquiries made on the basis of them in regard to the present state of Archives of all kinds, may have permanent results of real value. In England this war-time listing has had a very definite sequel. Before the end of hostilities (in 1943 in fact) the British Records Association was urging that, as a first step to further action for the protection of the Nation's heritage of Archives, the enlargement of the List to something like completeness (which means its increase to a size from 50 to 100 times greater) should be officially undertaken and within a couple of years this had actually come about. The Central Organisation, a new branch added to the existing Historical Manuscripts Commission, is seated at the Record Office where the Index, made on Cards to whose form and printed headings much care has been devoted, will be permanently preserved. The Staff is an extremely modest one—a Registrar, Assistant Registrar and two or three others with a small Directorate of which the Deputy Keeper of the Records is Chairman : but it was realised from the first that the local information could only be obtained by local effort and the organisation of this has been, and will be for some time, the main work of the Registrar. The method is in general to hold first in every County a Public Meeting to which are invited all influential persons—the Lord Lieutenant, High Sheriff, Magistrates and Clerks of the County Council and of the Peace, the Bishop and higher Clergy, large Land-owners and other important Residents in the district—together with a wide and comprehensive representation of persons or bodies who may be supposed to be interested in or control Archives of all kinds—Private or Public, Clerical, Professional, Commercial, Educational, Social or Legal. As many as 400 or 500 persons have in some cases attended one of these Meetings. An executive Committee is then formed to enlist voluntary helpers and, in consultation with the central organisation but on lines which their knowledge of local conditions dictates, to organise the examination of accumulations of Archives and the preparation of Reports: and in due time these last begin to flow in to the Central Registry. Effort is constantly made to impress on local Helpers the importance of completing the first stage—the reporting of the mere existence of Archives in this or that place : but the later process of listing and reporting on them in detail has a natural attraction for many and it is clear that if the work can go on without interruption there will be no lack of fuller reports.

Two further points should be stressed. First, it is abundantly clear that even if, in favourable circumstances, the work of recording the more ancient series can be brought near to completion in a few years that will not be the end : there will always be the accruals of modern documents to be dealt with. Second, it is quite realised that the mere recording of the existence of accumulations will not make certain their preservation : but it is the first step towards it ; and incidentally the Register will presently provide for Students a vast storehouse of information as to the existence of unknown material for research on every kind of subject.

Proposals for Legislation

The plan for a National Register of Archives was originally put forward by the British Records Association in 1943 in close association with a more ambitious one—a project for Legislation which should at once set up an Inspectorate of Local Archives, in particular those of County and Borough Authorities, and make provision for the safety of Private or Semi-Public Archives which were of value for National or Local History, if their natural Owners or Custodians were no longer able or willing to give them the necessary care and attention. Post-War conditions, it was pointed out, with the breaking up of large Estates, amalgamation of Businesses and Social change of all kinds which they would entail, must inevitably hasten that destruction or dispersal of Private and Semi-Public Muniments which for many years had been a cause of concern to the few people who realised its seriousness. To the work of such an Inspectorate as was now proposed that of the Register was a natural and indispensable preliminary : the Archives once located and listed, the Inspectorate would be able to 'star' those which were judged to be of national importance and to these would be applied certain statutory regulations limiting the power of their Owners to dispose of them, while extending to them certain privileges such as exemption of the Archives in question from death duties and assistance in regard to their repair and preservation.

The project is not a new one. So long ago as 1891 a small band of enthusiasts had begun to draft proposals of the kind and in 1899 these actually took the form of a Bill : in 1902 a Departmental Committee appointed by the Treasury reported on the subject : and the Royal Commission (1910) on Public Records devoted its *Third Report* (1919)

to the same matter. All these, and the Committee now appointed by the Master of the Rolls to consider the proposals submitted by the British Records Association, have taken much the same line, though naturally with variations. All propose a National Control working through the existing Local Authorities (County Councils, Boroughs etc.) on whom would be imposed a statutory duty not only to make suitable arrangements for the care, and availability for study in due course, of their own Archives but also to provide a centre where the Archives of Families and of Private or Semi-Public Bodies in the same area, often closely related and always parallel in interest, might find where necessary a safe and permanent home. At the moment, if external events do not interfere, there is a better hope than ever before of realising this.

The Training of Archivists

Almost from its earliest days the British Records Association was urged from time to time* to set up or procure the setting up of a School which should train men and women for the Archivist's work and send them out into the world with a diploma of fitness. Apart from the fact that the Association was not a professional one like the Library Association, the Members of which are for the most part practising Librarians, and moreover had not the resources to organise a system of Examinations, there was the very real danger that one might manufacture young Archivists and launch them on a world which contained no places for them. With the gradual conversion of Local Authorities to the view that they should, under modern conditions, have an organised Archives Department, with trained Archivist or Archivists, the last named difficulty has largely disappeared: and the British Records Association in 1945 felt itself justified in proposing to the University of London that a plan for an Archives Course which had been prepared for it should be given reality. Briefly, it was finally agreed that the School of Librarianship at University College should become the *School of Librarianship and Archive Administration*, offering courses for both subjects and awarding two diplomas: and in 1947 the first Course was duly given.

*It is interesting to note that the demand came more than once from a Crown Colony—Southern Rhodesia; which has now created a first-class Archives Department (for which a new building is to be erected) and called into partnership in this both Northern Rhodesia and Nyassaland; creating thus a new 'Central African Archives'.

The regulations are intended to secure a high standard, only Students with a first or second class Honours Degree being normally admitted to it ; and the Diploma is awarded only after a year's practical work as well as a year's lecturing and examinations. Details of the prescribed subjects have been given in a recent publication * and need not be repeated here: but it is perhaps worth emphasising that while the purely vocational part of the training (Listing, Indexing, Cataloguing etc., Repairing and Binding, and the Technique of Repository Work) is by no means neglected, the more academic parts (the lectures and classes in Palaeography and Diplomatic, in Languages and in Administrative History) do not attempt merely to teach the Student to read the classes of Documents he is likely to meet within the particular work he is most likely to have entrusted to him. They are deliberately designed to be educational, not purely vocational ; and to fit him for work on any Archives.

Closely connected with the scheme for a Course and Diploma in Archive Science was another for the setting up of a *Repair Centre*. At present, though at a few Local Repositories there are facilities for the repair of Documents there is practically no place where work of the highest class can be undertaken except the Public Record Office, whose Repairing Staff are allowed to undertake it extra-officially; and on the other hand with every fresh organisation of a Records branch by a Local Authority comes fresh recognition of the amount of such work which is urgently needed and increased demands either for its carrying out or for the supply of trained Repairers. The scheme which has been devised to meet this situation would provide a Centre at which a nucleus of Trained Repairers would instruct both those who wished to take up the work as a profession and those (Archivists, Librarians and others) who wished merely to know enough to be able to direct work in their own Repositories; while at the same time carrying out (for Repairing can only be learned by doing the work under supervision) repairs on Documents sent in, or brought in by Students, for the purpose.

This Scheme has not yet come to fruition, chiefly perhaps because of the difficulty of finding at present in London a suitable place for it; for though the space required is small the necessary conditions

*Hilary Jenkinson : *The English Archivist : a New Profession : being an Inaugural Lecture for a new course in Archive Administration delivered at University College, London, 14 October 1947*, (H. K. Lewis & Co. Ltd.)

for safe custody and convenience are exacting. But I think there is little doubt that presently—soon, I must hope—demand in this case will create supply. Indeed, I look forward to the establishment in the future, once we have the necessary trained men to run them, of a number of such centres ; and in due course the extension too of the work into the more difficult field of Repair-Binding. Nor is it only in the case of Repairs that we may hope that Training Centres will in due time arise in places other than London. For the Diploma in Archives Science itself there should, if all goes well, be sufficient demand to support more than one University Course: and indeed there are signs already that we may presently find our subject thus recognised in a number of Universities : Liverpool has, in fact, already started a Course. There will be need, in the interests of the future Archivists themselves, for some standardisation of the qualifications required from and supplied to their Students by such Schools: that, however, should not be too difficult a thing to achieve.

But it is time to pass from the general to the particular ; from Local, Private and Ecclesiastical to National Archives; from Archives, large and small, scattered all over the Kingdom to the greatest Repository of all in Chancery Lane : I must conclude by saying something of developments in my own Department.

*The Public Records in War Time **

To have passed through the convulsions involved in evacuating a large proportion of the Public Records and in protecting the remainder during the bombings and conflagrations which destroyed so many of the buildings within a few hundred yards of ours, and to say nothing of it in this reminiscence of experiences during the last twenty-five years, would be obviously absurd : but it must be dismissed briefly.

The Evacuation problem had of course been discussed for some years before the event : there was in fact a good deal to puzzle us and little precedent to help; for in the War of 1914-1918 bombing had been comparatively rare and precautions against it not highly developed, though a certain quantity of Documents were removed to a safe position—a Prison in the West of England. The major parts of the problem were those of *Packing, Transport, Housing and Selection* of

*An article on this subject was published in the '*American Archivist*' during the War (January, 1944).

the Records for evacuation in some order of priority. The question of *Selection* (to take the last, but most technical, first) was solved by the construction of a series of categories of Records to be evacuated ; beginning with a small one which included the principal items of spectacular and popular interest (the contents of the Museum, for example), we based the remainder rather on the consideration of scholarship value (which meant that Classes which had been dealt with fully in publications, though valuable in other ways, had a low priority in comparison with some of less intrinsic importance which were not available in print); and we concluded with a category of selections from Classes which had *not* been evacuated. The whole covered about half the contents of the building : and, to our surprise, the conditions of transport etc. (not forgetting the extreme awkwardness of our building as a loading centre) did not prevent us in the end from getting it all away.

Packing was conditioned by three facts : first, that we had to store in advance many thousand containers, which meant that they must be of card-board and collapsible; second, that they would have to be piled one on another, which meant that they must be most carefully filled and that when filled, none must exceed in weight what a single man could lift to the level of his head; and third, that we should need to know exactly where every document was, which meant a simple but most carefully thought-out system of labelling and listing. That in these circumstances we got away 88,000 packages (about 2000 tons) without accident, were able at any time (except during transit) to produce if necessary any single document and had all back in their places within a year of the end of the War, must therefore be regarded as something of a feat as well as a valuable experiment in large-scale movement.

The question of *Transport* in the end gave little difficulty. We used locked lorries almost exclusively (not trains), because no other method gave us sufficient control : a member of the Staff accompanied every lorry or convoy and could take action in case of accident or delay. *Housing* was more difficult because the space apparently available is fallacious (unless it is on the ground floor) when it comes to Records, owing to their weight. In the end we had seven temporary Repositories—a Duke's Castle, one of the most famous ancient Manor Houses in England, the wing of a Prison, a disused 'Casual Ward', two Private Mansions and a School : and it may be imagined that the provision of even a skeleton staff for these taxed our very modest resources.

Altogether the war in Chancery Lane was a nightmare of unfamiliar problems for an Archivist : but the rest of our experiences (apart, that is, from Evacuation) differed little (except for the necessity of preserving Custody in the Record Office) from those of other people. The Office, which had received a good deal of structural attention before War broke out, was guarded in a system of volunteer Shifts by the Staff ; who were trained in fire-fighting, first-aid and so forth with the object of making us so far as possible self-sufficient. This was particularly necessary in the matter of fire fighting for we were almost as much afraid of indiscreet watering as of fire. Actually, though a good many incendiary bombs fell on us, we never had any difficulty in dealing with them : but our near neighbours were more than once in a blaze close enough to make our walls uncomfortably hot and we took a hand in fighting their fires with our hose. Our building, in spite of its size, was only once hit by high explosive and no damage was done to Records.

'Reconstruction' and the Public Record Office

In 1938 the Office celebrated its centenary and it would have been natural then to look back on what we and our predecessors had done, and forward to what remained for us and our successors : but the War was already very imminent and, our celebration over, we could think of little but Air Raid Precaution. In 1943, when one was beginning to see the possibility of an end to the War, one began also to think of the possibilities of Reconstruction and, with it, of reviewing the past and planning the future of our charge. This does not imply necessarily criticism of our predecessors. In a hundred years, and especially in the beginning of a century of new work, mistakes must naturally be made which may not be detected for quite a long time: moreover in a hundred years new ideas come up, new and unforeseen interests arise, new methods are invented and new machinery made available. The close of such a period offers an obviously appropriate opportunity for surveying every section of the work and saying in effect 'how far have we got with this ?' and 'what direction shall we take from here ?'

In regard to certain sections or aspects one could say at once that comparatively recent review, and proposed reorganization, made it unnecessary to consider them for the moment. The *Search Room System*, for instance, had been thoroughly overhauled about the time of the Royal Commission (1910-1913) and in subsequent years ; and

though small detailed improvements might be continually invented (such as that to the lighting system in the Round Room in 1938) large-scale alterations must undoubtedly wait on the time when we should get the long desired and often postponed new building: not a thing to be thought of while the nation was still concerned with making good the ravages of War. Of the system of *Production of Documents from the Repository* for inspection—its Organization, Checking and Recording—the same might be said. In the Repository itself a thorough reorganization had taken place within the ten years previous to the War: the 'Summary' (the great typescript volume in which are recorded all Groups and Classes in the Office, with their numbers, covering dates and exact positions) had been remade and the system of keeping it up-to-date perfected; the adoption of the Numerical System of References had been completed throughout all Classes; and the actual system of packing in the 140 Strong Rooms of the Office had been overhauled and altered to a logical plan of arrangement by Groups and Classes. The *Museum*, continually worked upon in the period between the two Wars, was more or less tied to using, primarily at least, the room on the historic site of the old Rolls Chapel; and within these limits, and short of drastic changes in lighting and casing, which could not for the moment be contemplated, was not susceptible of much change. Finally between 1922 and 1939 the *Repair and Binding* section, its methods, materials and organization (including the organization of the Private Work which the Repairing Staff was encouraged to undertake out of office hours) had been the subject of much, one might almost say continual work and thought; and that also could be regarded for the moment as being in a state which could continue by its own momentum.

Remained the question of Staff (but that might best be taken at the end of any general survey because it was largely conditioned by one's conclusions in regard to other matters); a final examination of the question how far existing space could be further economised or expanded by temporary measures to make possible certain immediate improvements; the settlement of future policy in regard to the perpetually growing mass of records transferred by Departments, which had shown signs in recent years of assuming very alarming proportions; the kindred problem of our whole relation with Record-making Departments; and last but not least the review of our policy in regard to the making of our Records available to Students. It will be best to treat these under separate heads.

Post War Expansion

The existing Building had frequently been declared in the past to be inconveniently full and by 1939 it really was so : fresh building (for which there is room on the site) was an imperative need before the War and has become one of the worst of our post-war problems. Alterations in the packing of the strong-rooms has now been carried to the limits of safety in the interests of providing extra space ; for close packing may mean insufficient air-circulation and inadequate room for careful handling. Housing for the Records, for the Staff, for our guests of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and the National Register of Archives, and for our Library is as constricted as it can be made : we have no longer a Committee Room, nor any other luxury of free space—not even the empty strong-rooms necessary to make possible an adequate system of regular cleaning in the Repository—and the Library can only expand into corridors. The expedient of housing Departmental Records not open to the Public in a separate (provincial) building had been adopted ten years before the War and the relief afforded by it is now exhausted—indeed we are faced with the prospect of being obliged, as the 'open' date is advanced, to bring many of these Records back to the main Repository.

The sole new possibility in the present difficult times is the limited one (often canvassed before) of temporary hutments on ground adjacent to the building and this has in fact been, rather unwillingly, accepted. The use of buildings of this kind to house the Repairing and Photographic sections has set free half a dozen rooms, one of which has been devoted to the much-needed provision of a Supplementary Exhibition Room in which from time to time some type of Records, or some subject, represented by only a few exhibits in the permanent Museum can be illustrated more comprehensively*. But these few extra rooms give, of course, only a very temporary relief and it is doubtful if the plan of non-permanent building can be carried much further. Real expansion must wait on large-scale new construction ; and for this a scheme (not the first and perhaps, if delay is long, it may in its turn be superseded) has already been devised. Pending its realisation the only possible palliative would be the temporary removal of certain Classes of the Records which though open to public inspection are in fact seldom or never asked for to the separate Repository which

*The first of such Special Exhibitions—a display of some fifty *Treaties*—is at present open to the Public.

houses the Departmental Records that have not yet been 'opened'. The policy of using a separate Repository for these last has been retained and probably would be even if large additions to the Chancery Lane Repository were immediately possible : but as has been said the bestowal of Departmental transfers in such a building only postpones till the time when they are 'opened' the question of providing for them in the building which houses Search Rooms and Students. The accommodation which has been found for them—for we lost our former out-station at Canterbury during the War—is conveniently near to Chancery Lane but is not permanently ours ; so that the search for a new Repository in the suburbs or further out is also an immediate matter : more immediate even than expansion in Chancery Lane itself.

The Record Office and 'Limbo'

It might be thought that with such problems as the preceding already perplexing us we should be content : but in fact, in attempting to estimate and plan for post-War requirements of the Public Records, we have found it impossible to evade consideration of a matter long over-due for settlement and one which involves a housing problem even larger than that which faced us before. The Public Record Office Act of 1838 places under the 'charge and superintendence' of the Master of the Rolls not only the Documents transferred from time to time by Departments but those not yet transferred : and though naturally no Master of the Rolls would attempt to regulate further than is done already* the treatment by Departments of the files which they have in current use, there are few Departments which have not, in addition to these, large and increasing masses of Documents not yet ripe for transfer (not all of them, probably, destined to be, in the end, transferred at all) which must be stored, perhaps worked on, and occasionally produced for reference. Not infrequently in the past pressure of space has led to Departmental Archives in this intermediate stage between currency and final bestowal among the Public Records being housed outside the Office of the Department to which they belong, generally in places hastily requisitioned to meet a sudden

*By Statutes supplementing that of 1838 machinery is provided in the shape of a committee of 'Inspecting Officers' of the Public Record Office for regulating the destruction by Public Departments of Documents not considered to be of sufficient value to justify their permanent preservation as Public Records.

need and likely for that reason to be more or less unsuitable. In Record Office slang this phase in Archive development is referred to conveniently as 'Limbo'; and I have ventured to adopt that word as my heading.

The problem of establishing some measure of control by the Record Office over Documents in this phase had been in the minds of some of us for many years : and the War made it a much more urgent matter. Statistics were collected and in 1943 a small interdepartmental Committee met to discuss this as a part of the general post-War problem of Record Housing. Briefly the conclusion reached was that since the Ministry of Works must in any case accept the responsibility for finding house-room for Documents belonging to Ministries and other Public Departments it would be at once more economical and much more efficient to provide a single large amount of accommodation in a suitable building suitably sited, in which Departments might from time to time occupy such space as they temporarily required for this purpose (including, when necessary, space for members of their Staff working on the Documents) : and to place the whole building under the general supervision of the Record Office. The opinion of Departments on this proposal was sought and their approval obtained before the end of the War ; and soon after that the opportunity presented itself unexpectedly, and was eagerly seized, of obtaining the necessary space.. It is true that this was in five different places (all of the same kind, however, and all in London) and that these could be ours only for a limited period, but the opportunity of making what had been only a plan into at least a partial reality was too good to be missed ; and, to tell the tale briefly, vast quantities of Documents from some of the most important large Departments, while actually still in the charge of their original Custodians, have now been brought in this way under our limited control. Search for a single home for them of a more permanent character, if possible in some not too far out-lying district of London, is actively proceeding : and meanwhile the scheme is launched and the liaison most usefully (as can already be seen) established.

This question of the relation of Archive Departments to the active Departments of Public Administration, of allowing the Archivist some, say in regard to the conservation of Documents, a proportion of which will ultimately be transferred to him, before that stage is actually reached, is one which must arise in all Countries ; and I am happy to think that we have now at least attacked it in England. Indeed the settlement of the 'limbo' problem in principle, and the beginning of

its settlement in practice, makes it possible to shape much more clearly in our minds the future policy of the Record Office in regard to housing. It takes the form definitely of three establishments ; the present Record Office in Chancery Lane, with enlargements, for the Classes open to public inspection*, for Students' Rooms, Library, Photography, Repair and the rest ; a second Repository, within a distance which will make production by motor transport, when necessary, reasonably easy, for Classes transferred permanently to our custody but not yet open to inspection ; and finally, further still perhaps, under our general control, the necessary space for all Departmental Documents in the intermediate stage between currency and the Record Office. If external circumstances allow it, full development of such an organization might well be seen within the next ten years : combined with a staff liaison which would make possible a continuity of method (in regard to arrangement, listing, make-up and so forth) at all stages, after that of the current file, in the life of what are to be ultimately Public Records.

Staff

I have touched on this subject more than once incidentally but it should have at least some passing mention under a separate heading. Our Staff consists at present of the Deputy Keeper (appointed by the Master of the Rolls, *ex officio* Head of the Department); 22 'Assistant Keepers' of whom one is 'Principal Assistant Keeper' and 5 rank a 'Assistant Keepers Directing Sections'; 15 'Executive Officers' (including 1 'Senior' and 3 'Higher'); 11 'Clerical Officers' or 'Clerical Assistants' and 4 'Typists'; 1 'Office Keeper' ('Superintendent'); 64 'Attendants and Repairers'† (including 1 'Chief Binder', 1 'Chief Repairer', 9 'Foremen' and 'Sub-Foremen'); and 40 'Porter-Messengers'. Many of these are 'Departmental' Grades, *i.e.* though their Members are Civil Servants they are peculiar to the Department, serving under special conditions (not an unmixed blessing) and trained in the Office.

*I have said nothing about the housing, and use of new Record forms such as photographic and sound recordings but they must be, and are, included in any plans for extended accommodation in Chancery Lane and elsewhere.

†Some of these are employed on Photographic duties : over twenty are Repairers or Binders ; and the remainder supervise production or attend on the Public in the Search Rooms. A few extra Binders, not members of the Staff, are also supplied by the Stationery Office.

The above Establishment is the result of much post-War discussion. That continually increasing administrative duties make it a hard task to find the men for much that we would like to do goes without saying: it is common form in such institutions as ours and particularly in times like the present when many new developments are necessarily in progress. One recent change, however, deserves a special word—the introduction of the ‘Executive’ Class immediately below that of ‘Assistant Keepers’. The latter must always have one qualification not easy to come by — a first class knowledge of Latin: because so late as the eighteenth century that was still an official language in England. But the great increase in the volume of our modern Records, and of administrative work in connexion with these and with the ‘Limbo’ scheme, makes it probable that the future may add considerably to the work and the status of ‘Executive’ Officers in the Department; some of the present Members of this grade did valuable and responsible work on the Archives of the Control Commissions, to whom their services were made temporarily available.

Record Office Publications

Policy settled in regard to Storage and Conservation, and the question of Staff dismissed with the usual plaint that it might, with so much advantage, be so much larger, we come finally in our review to the great question of Publication. For many years, while there was still plenty of space in the Repository, while the problem of Modern Accruals had not yet assumed the importance it now has in the eyes both of Archivists and Historians, before the technical matters of Repair, Make-up, Photography and so forth had begun to be seen for the large and engrossing problems that they are and when the demands of Students in the Search Rooms were much less than now both in number and in variety, the Publication of printed volumes was considered by far the most important and valuable part of the functions of the Department; and since the Record Office produced in its first hundred years something very like a thousand volumes it cannot be said that this function has been neglected*. To survey and comment in any detail on so large a body of printed matter could obviously be impossible here; but the task has recently been undertaken by the

The scope of Record Office Publications may best be studied in the List (‘List Q’*, or *‘Sectional List No. 24’* as it is now called) which is issued from time to time by H. M. Stationery Office.


Department in some detail. A new Consultative Committee, consisting of representatives appointed by every University in this Country; assembled for the first time at the Record Office in 1947 : and I shall endeavour to summarise the considerations and conclusions laid before it. I would emphasise again that this survey has not been made in a spirit of criticism but merely because, with the experience of a century behind us, and the new possibilities introduced by new conditions on our eyes, it was clearly our duty to see what changes or innovations might be feasible and desirable : especially in view of the very strictly limited amounts of Staff, Expenditure and Publication available.

In the first place then, 'straight' Publication—the printing of exact Transcripts, or at least full 'Calendars' (*i.e.* precis), which may be supposed to absolve most Students from the necessity of consulting the originals, has touched—can touch—only the fringe of the problem, even if we limit consideration to Documents no later in date than 1500 we have dealt in our volumes with only a fraction of one per cent. Moreover (a second serious consideration) what we have published is at present exceedingly one-sided because we have not yet touched the half-dozen great series of Exchequer Enrolments dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thirdly, though a considerable beginning has been made with the more important of the series which commence in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (the *State Papers*, *Treasury Records*, *Privy Council Register* and so forth) there are vast fields here (Legal and Financial for example) which have hardly been approached. Moreover, publication even in the series I have named proceeds much too slowly : the extreme instance is that of the *State Papers Foreign*, where eleven volumes, covering only eight years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, have been published in forty years ; which suggests that completion down to (say) the reign of Charles II will be a matter of centuries. Fourthly, publication of the Departmental Records which begin with the eighteenth century has not been attempted (except in the shape of very jejune Lists) and the problem is of course a growing one : and closely connected with this is the question of publications other than Lists, Calendars and Transcripts. Notable among these are the '*Deputy Keeper's Report*' (which in process of years has become a somewhat arid compilation and has in fact, for some considerable time past been submitted only in typescript) and the invaluable '*Guide*' to the Office ; which (though the form of the present edition is an immense improvement on its predecessors) is

still susceptible of some modifications and additions and, in particular, fails to deal with the problem of notifying in reasonable time to interested Students the nature and quantity of accerning Records. Affecting all the above is a sixth consideration—the fact that the Record Office has in the past expended a considerable amount of energy and available publication on volumes very valuable in themselves but drawn from Documents not in its custody—the *'Chronicles and Memorials'* of printing Manuscripts which are not in any sense Archives, and the Calendars of Vatican Registers and other Archives in Foreign Countries.

A seventh point which may be considered of less importance but which also affects all the others is that Editorial Method (though the necessity for flexibility is of course understood) has become in process of time a good deal more irregular than is necessary or desirable and is at some points distinctly susceptible of improvement: though sound principles for indexing Persons and Places (for example) were laid down long ago the same has never been done for Subjects, the scope of Introductions and their relation to Text and Index needs definition, Rules for precis-making are lacking, and the effect at all points of sound typographical conventions has been neglected. Finally, it is suggested that external changes—notably the immensely altered conditions of transport, the introduction of the Typewriter, and the invention of new means of cheap and rapid photographic reproduction of Documents must have altered the nature of Students' requirements: that 'Publication, might well be held now to include other methods of conveying information in addition to Printing.

Some of these considerations have suggested changes or new work which have already been or may soon be put in hand. New Office Rules or Arrangements, for example, governing Indexes, Introductions (which will be made more strictly factual and related closely to the Subject Index) and the methods of preparing Texts have all been made or are in process of making; Typographical matters have been carefully reviewed in conference with the Stationery Office; the policy of restricting Record Office Publications to Documents in the Record Office has been definitely, if regretfully, approved; and while it is agreed that for the earliest medieval series publication by transcript or very full calendar must continue, it is planned to adopt extensively for later series the use of comprehensive 'Descriptive Lists' in place of Calendars. This last scheme has in fact been applied already to the

State Papers Foreign. The Deputy Keeper's Report is once more to be printed and in a rather more narrative form—the first is in course of production as the present notes are written. The *Guide* is to be re-edited in sections, which will make production, or re-production, of any desired part more easy and rapid ; and the Introductory Section his is also well forward: it is to be a *Guide to the Public Record Office*, to the Public Records only.

Other plans are more of a 'long-term' character : it has been decided for instance to make arrangements for at least five new series of medieval Exchequer volumes and preparation of one has actually been begun : but it will be many years, under the most favourable circumstances, before the results of this begin to make themselves felt*. Again, in regard to modern Records it is planned to make extensive use of the 'Descriptive List' form, the assumption being that with constantly increasing facilities for cheap microphotography these should enable the distant Student to get what he wants from the Documents with a minimum of effort and expense ; but the preparation of such Lists in large quantities must be, at the best, a matter of considerable time and there are preliminary problems to be solved. What of the Staff for such work ? (we are trying to find a partial solution for this in a new scheme under which we shall take in temporarily young graduates from the Universities for training and a short period of editorial work) ; and what of the Distribution of these Lists when made ? are they to be printed ? (that is probably not feasible) or distributed in typescript form to certain of the great University and other Libraries ? or made available themselves by microphotography upon order ? These are matters yet to be settled.

Conclusion

But I must not take up further space with what are anticipations, plans for work which may be executed by other hands, rather than reminiscences of that in which I have had a share. I can only hope that they and other good new things may come to undisturbed fruition: and that this account of Archive work in England during a period of years which has been torn asunder by two Wars may be consulted occasionally by Indian Archivists working on parallel lines during a long period of Peace.

*A plan has been approved for issuing a single advance volume—an Introduction to and Survey of Exchequer Records.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	For	Read
1	6	from	to
34	8	"Chinaman" should be in italics	
37	last line	to	of
38	Sec. IV, para 1, line 9 omit ;/after "self"		
38	Sec. IV, para 1 line 11 :	in	of
39	10	1871	1781
39	19	} Nabob	Nawab
41	last para line 3		
40	para 2, line 6	of annuity	of an annuity
41	last para, line 1	could be	could not be
44	16	1877	1887
44	19	dought	drought
48	20	fought	that took place
49	5	addressee	latter
49	22	Now he was	Now he is
50	2	nobles with	nobles sided with
50	3	were	was
50	16	Nawar	Narwar
87	5	Insert,/ after "writing"	
87	5	"shikast" should be in italics.	
87	6	1120 A. H.	1220 A. H.
87	21	Jewan	Jiwan
87	27	while the Kings	while kings
88	25	the Hindus and the Muslims way of life	the Hindu and the Muslim way of life
88	27	to rulers	to Muslim rulers
88	35	are the duly	are duly
116	1 (footnote)	a lecturer	an Assistant Professor
116	2 (footnote)	Add the line :	"He is a member of the Bihar Regional Records Survey Committee."
117	13	to the altogether	to the amount alto- gether.
117	7 (of No. 3)	Delete the inverted comma be- fore "directing"	
118	6	Bandcloes	Bandannoes
118	Footnote 9	piece goods ,	piece-goods

Page	Line	For	Read
120	19	war	War
122	7	Lohoar	Lohar
122	13	'8	38
124	6	ease	case
143	footnote 5, line 1	N. V.	N.W.
146	footnote 25, line 5	Jigneau	Pigneau
148	footnote 36	1810	1819
149	24	Avt	Ava
173	1 (footnote)	Srirampur	Serampore
175	Item No. 2—	under "Full Pay Holders" Qzi	Qazi
177	2 (footnote)	Marathi and Pali	Pali
177	2 (footnote)	Chairman	Convener
177	4 (footnote)	Associate	Ordinary
178	lines 3,6,7,12,18, 22,24, & 25.	Varanasidas	Vanarasidas
178	33	dinners	dinner
184	21	prepared	preferred
184	23	his	this
187	6 (under "farman No. 2")	Phalgun vadi V.S.	3 Phalguna vadi 1764 V. S.
188	9 (under "farman No. 4")	contains the seals	It too contains the seals
189	2	1713	1713 A.D.



